Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur

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THE PRESIDENT AND MEXICO

BY THE EDITOR

To obtain a clear understanding of the present Mexican situation it is necessary to recall in sequence the chief events which have given rise to the predicament in which, as a Nation, we now find ourselves.

On February 18th, of the present year, after nine days of fighting in the City of Mexico, President Madero and Vice-President Suarez were compelled to resign by Generals Blanquet and Huerta upon the ground that "the time has come when some drastic means must be taken to stop a conflict in which father is killing son and brother is fighting against brother; where non-combatants are sharing the fate of war—and all this because of the caprice of one man." Piedro Lascurian, Minister of Foreign Affairs, thereupon became Provisional President and appointed General Huerta Minister of the Interior. A few days later Lascurian resigned, and, his resignation having been accepted by the Congress, Huerta became Provisional President. All this was done by prearrangement and in strict conformity with provisions of the written Constitution. General Huerta immediately telegraphed to President Taft:

> I have the honor to inform you that I have overthrown the government. The forces are with me, and from now on peace and prosperity will reign.

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On February 23d Madero and Suarez were shot to death while being taken in an automobile from the National palace to the penitentiary. According to an official statement put forth by authority of Huerta they were killed in a scrimmage resulting from an attempted rescue. The American Ambassador, Mr. Henry Lane Wilson, "accepted" this version of the tragedy "in the absence of other reliable information," and expressed a feeling of certainty that the deaths were "without Government approval."

This was the situation when President Wilson was inaugurated.

President Huerta immediately sought official recognition from the various Powers. Great Britain was the first to accede. Speaking in the Guildhall on November 10th, Prime Minister Asquith said:

> On March 31st of this year, before the present Administration of the United States had made or had even had an opportunity of making any declaration of policy, His Majesty's Government recognized Huerta as President ad interim. We did so because we were bound to deal with him as we should in the case of any Central or South American State, whatsoever was at the time the *de facto* government, and according to information then in our possession there appeared to be no element except Huerta and his supporters which offered any prospect for the restoration of stability and order.
>
> That was on March 31st. Very shortly afterward, in answer to our inquiries, we were informed by the Government of the United States that as regards the recognition of Huerta no definite answer could be given except that they would wait some time longer before recognizing him.

Practically all of the European Powers, including Germany, France, Spain, and Austria, followed England's example, and Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson strongly urged our Administration to do likewise. The Huerta government, too, was most insistent, urging as a special reason that it could not obtain funds requisite to the pacifying of the country while the United States withheld official recognition.

President Wilson, however, declined to comply, for reasons which, though never set forth officially, were clearly indicated in a statement issued within a fortnight after he assumed office, to the effect that "we can have no sympathy with those who seek to seize the power of government to advance their own personal interest and ambition," and subsequently in a speech at Swarthmore, Pennsylvania,

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when he declared that " nowhere can any government long endure which is stained by blood or supported by anything but the consent of the governed."

Early in August, impelled by complaints of Americans and the restiveness of foreign governments concerning the destruction of properties, the President despatched Mr. John Lind, a former Governor of Minnesota, to Mexico as his personal spokesman and representative with proposals of friendly mediation. Mr. Lind's instructions were to " press very earnestly upon those who are now exercising authority or wielding influence " that " the Government of the United States does not feel at liberty any longer to stand inactively by while no real progress is being made toward the establishment of a government in the City of Mexico which the country will obey and respect." The President continued:

> A satisfactory settlement seems to us to be conditioned on:
> (*a*) An immediate cessation of fighting throughout Mexico, a definite armistice solemnly entered into and scrupulously observed;
> (*b*) Security given for an early and free election in which all agree to take part;
> (*c*) The consent of General Huerta to bind himself not to be a candidate for election as President of the Republic at this election, and
> (*d*) The agreement of all parties to abide by the results of the election and co-operate in the most loyal way in organizing and supporting the new Administration.

He added:

> If Mexico can suggest any better way in which to show our friendship, serve the people of Mexico and meet our international obligations, we are more than willing to consider the suggestion.

The Huerta government was disposed to resent the appearance of an " unofficial Confidential Agent " from the United States when all other nations were represented by authorized Ministers, and Señor Gamboa, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, did not hesitate to pronounce the proposals " unusual and humiliating." Nevertheless, evincing appreciation of the spirit which prompted the interposition, he replied courteously that his government could hardly be expected to cease warring upon, or to enter into " a definite armistice " with, unorganized bandits; that free elections were already assured; but that naturally his government could not guarantee " the agreement of all parties to abide by the results." He was constrained, therefore, to reject

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the proposals, and, in response to the President's invitations, suggested " the following equally decorous arrangement ":

(1) That our Ambassador be received in Washington.
(2) That the United States of America send us a new Ambassador without previous conditions.

The one really vital condition of mediation imposed by President Wilson, namely, that General Huerta " bind himself not to be a candidate for election as President," was disposed of politely but firmly in these words:

The request that General Victoriano Huerta should agree not to appear as a candidate for the Presidency of the Republic in the coming elections cannot be taken into consideration, because, aside from its strange and unwarranted character, there is a risk that the same might be interpreted as a matter of personal dislike. This point can only be decided by Mexican public opinion when it may be expressed at the polls.

Subsequent events, including the arbitrary dissolution of the recalcitrant Madero Congress, the dismissal of Diaz, and the so-called election which may or may not be considered valid, and the constantly reiterated declarations from the White House that " Huerta Must Go " are too recent to require recital.

The whole matter resolves to this:

What legal or moral right has a President of the United States to say who shall or shall not be President of Mexico? and

Did not President Wilson imbed himself in a practically inextricable position when he demanded the retirement of Huerta?

To the first question there can be but one answer from a technical standpoint. Mr. Asquith gave it when he said that His Majesty's Government was " bound to deal with him (Huerta) as with any other Central or South American State, whatsoever was at the time the *de facto* government." Germany, France, Spain, Austria, and Russia gave it when they accredited Ministers to the new Administration. President Franklin Pierce gave it when he declared in his Message to Congress on May 15th, 1856:

It is the established policy of the United States to recognize governments without question of their source of organization or of the means by which the governing persons attain their power, provided there be a government *de facto* accepted by the people of the country. . . . It is

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the more imperatively necessary to apply this rule to the Spanish-American peoples in consideration of the frequent and not seldom anomalous changes of organization or administration which they undergo and the revolutionary character of most of the changes.

Whether or not President Huerta would have been able to restore order throughout Mexico if he had possessed the means of which he was deprived by President Wilson's refusal to accord with the action of other nations and with what President Pierce pronounced "the established policy of the United States" is a matter of conjecture. That it would have been the part of wisdom to give him a chance to try is, we believe, in the light of subsequent events, the consensus of opinion in our own country at the present time.

To the second question we suspect the correct answer would be that the President's predicament is one from which satisfactory extrication is at the least difficult. What amazes us is that he should ever have gotten into it. Surely there could have been no doubt of the consequence of his demand that Huerta relinquish authority upon the ground, clearly implied, that he was directly concerned in the assassination of Madero. If innocent, he would not and, if guilty, he could not comply with such a request. Acquiescence would have spelt confession in either case. Nothing could be plainer than that President Wilson's method frustrated his own intent and could not possibly have operated otherwise. Instead of eliminating Huerta from power, he riveted him in his place, there to remain, in all probability, until he shall be expelled by force of arms.

It is proverbially easy to criticize, especially after the event. Probably President Wilson himself now realizes that it would have been better to accord recognition to the *de facto* Government, in compliance with the unanimous recommendation of the diplomatic corps in Mexico, upon the grounds set forth by Mr. Asquith. But having once assumed a wider responsibility by attempting to dictate to the Dictator, in pursuance of a policy which was ethical rather than practical, he was forbidden by regard for the Nation's dignity, no less than by his own obduracy, to recede from the position which he had taken. It followed inevitably that his original and wholly admirable purposes, which comprehended real assistance to a distracted neighbor and avoidance of war on our own part, should

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narrow to a single definite aim, namely, the deposition of Huerta. To this end the President has directed all his energies: chiefly, after the failure of moral suasion, by way of menace. But all semi-official threatenings, first of lifting the embargo upon the delivery of arms to the insurgents, then of inaugurating a "peaceful blockade" of the Mexican ports, then of seeking to starve the government, through the co-operation of foreign Powers, and, finally, of severing diplomatic relations entirely, have so far been in vain. Huerta, at this writing, seems to be more stubborn and determined than at any previous time; has crushed out all opposition in his Cabinet and Congress; holds the army apparently under perfect control; is not destitute of funds; and, oddly enough, has been strengthened immeasurably with the Mexican people by report of the peremptory refusal of Carranza to accept mediatory proposals of any kind from Washington. Meanwhile, the wretched country is being devastated from the Rio Grande to the Southern Gulf; prisoners taken in battle are being slaughtered ruthlessly; helpless non-combatants are become the prey of savage bandits; railways are being torn up; mining and other properties to the value of unreckoned millions have already been destroyed; and American and European residents are fleeing for their lives. The gravity of the situation from the standpoint of Mexico, of our own country, or of humanity cannot be exaggerated. We are confronted by a condition of anarchy, not by a theory of government, and the condition has become intolerable.

What is to be done?

"We admit," says the London *Spectator*, "that it might be possible for Mr. Wilson's half-and-half Mexican policy to succeed in very small and weak countries—countries which could never raise their hand in revolt and had to put up with whatever treatment they got as contentedly as might be. But no one will say that Mexico is a country of that description. No one could foretell the character and length of the resistance that Mexico would be able to offer if an invasion of the country became necessary. It would certainly be harassing and enthusiastic, and would involve the United States in incalculable expense. Mexico is peopled by independent and pugnacious men, apt at guerrilla warfare, and is a country which lends itself to the arts of wearing out an enemy by the expedients of ambuscade and elu-

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siveness. We sincerely hope that the necessity for war may be avoided, but we cannot honestly see how the present American policy can end except in war and an eventual protectorate, or in a reversal of the attempt at dictation by means of an unworkable Imperialism."

We are unable to see how any thinking man can fail to concur in this judgment. Grateful as we are to President Wilson for withstanding the temptation, to which another of less scrupulous ambition might have yielded, to intervene by force of arms, we cannot escape the conclusion that persistence in his present course is virtually certain to drive our country into a war as hateful to ourselves as it would be to the neighbors whom we are anxious to serve. The only alternative, apparently, is that indicated above, namely, " a reversal of the attempt at dictation by means of an unworkable Imperialism."

Is not that possible?

Nobody here or abroad and nobody in Mexico who need be considered questions the high purpose which has actuated President Wilson. Nobody suspects his good faith, the purity of his motives, or the pacificatory nature of his methods. Nobody doubts that he has done his best, and nobody can demonstrate that another could have done better.

But the policy which the President sincerely believed to be the wisest has failed. Why could and why should he not now address the *de facto* Government of Mexico substantially as follows:

"We have exerted our best endeavors, according to our best judgment, to aid in restoring peace and prosperity to you, our neighbors and our friends. We have been disinterested, as you know, but our suggestions, having failed to meet with the approval of either the provisional Government or of the commander of the insurrectionary forces, have necessarily proved unavailing. Deeply as we regret this circumstance, we frankly admit it to be a fact. But it is the accomplishment, not the method, that we still regard as vital. We have tried our way in vain. Now we stand ready to try yours. Your Ambassador will be received in Washington. We will accredit a new Ambassador to you ' without previous conditions.' We shall hold your Government responsible for the lives and properties of all foreign residents, and shall notify other nations to that effect. All of our dealings with your Administration will be in the

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open, in good faith, and in sincere hope that a truly representative and stable government may soon be established, to the end that, within a reasonable time, peace and prosperity may be regained in all parts of your distracted land."

We hear the objections to this new policy. It would be unfair to the Constitutionalists and rebels. But, since their leader has repulsed our attempts at mediation, what further claim have they upon our consideration? It would strengthen Huerta, or Blanquet, or Moheno, or whoever may be in control when these words reach the public ear and mind. That cannot be helped. We must strengthen somebody, and apparently there is little room for choice. It would be inconsistent with our declared attitude, would be a recession on the part of the President, would humiliate us as a Nation in the eyes of the world. Perhaps, yes; and for that very reason it would live forever as a performance and an example, as the noblest act ever done by a great and powerful Nation in the interest of a weak and suffering people.

And it would avert war—

—at least for time sufficient to allow for adjustment and mutual understanding. That is the overpowering consideration which should and, we hope, may influence a President who surely must realize that he is not merely the tribune of a people, but is also the head of a Nation which should set the pace for all the world in works of self-abnegation tending to universal peace.

BREAKING THE PLEDGE

'Tis well said again,
And 'tis a kind of good deed to say well:
And yet words are not deeds.
—*King Henry VIII., Act III., Scene 2.*

THE Democratic party, acting through its representatives assembled in convention in Baltimore, made the following declaration:

> The law pertaining to the civil service should be honestly and rigidly enforced, to the end that merit and ability shall be the standard of appointment and promotion, rather than service rendered to a political party.

The candidate for President designated simultaneously with the promulgation of this doctrine was a Vice-Presi-

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dent of the National Civil Service Reform League at the time of his nomination and continued to hold that position during the campaign which resulted in his election. In August, 1912, replying to an inquiry addressed by the League to the three leading candidates, he wrote as follows:

> I am a hearty believer in the principles of civil service reform and shall take pleasure at all times in doing what I can to promote those principles in practice.

One month after he was elected President of the United States, Mr. Wilson declined re-election as Vice-President of the Civil Service Reform League in a communication to the Chairman of the Committee on Political Activity reading as follows:

> Thank you for your thoughtful letter of November 26th. Perhaps it would be wise for me not to associate my name with any league or association during my term as President, though I beg you to believe that my interest in and my sympathy with the work of the Civil Service Reform League has not been and cannot be abated.

On September 8th, 1913, following the precedent, established at President Wilson's instigation, of attaching "riders" to appropriation bills, Representative Bartlett of Georgia proposed an amendment to the Urgent Deficiency Bill reading as follows:

> All Executive orders heretofore made placing the positions of deputy marshals and deputy internal-revenue collectors in the classified service, and all regulations made thereunder, are hereby revoked, and hereafter appointments to said positions shall be made in the same manner as obtained prior to the making of such Executive orders.

Mr. Bartlett had already stated succinctly his reason for urging a return to the old system in a speech made on September 4th, when he declared:

> I know that there is no office, in my judgment, under Democratic administration, that could not be better filled by a Democrat than by a Republican. If you can call that the spoils system, you are welcome to so denominate it.

Subsequently, upon further motion by Representative Bartlett, the scope of the amendment was enlarged so as to enable collectors and marshals to discharge all subordinates and employes, in addition to deputies, and to appoint their successors "without regard to the act, amendments, rules,

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or regulations " prescribed by the Civil Service Law of 1883.

In this form the Bill came before the House for final action on October 10th, and was adopted by a vote of 110 to 106. All of those voting in the affirmative were Democrats. Of those voting in the negative 56 were Democrats, 44 were Republicans, and 6 were Progressives. Three days later the " rider " passed the Senate by a vote of 31 to 18, two Democrats voting in the negative.

Simultaneously with the passage of the Bill by the House the National Civil Service Reform League unanimously adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the National Civil Service Reform League most strongly opposes and condemns Congressional action as taken in the new tariff law and as proposed in the urgent deficiency bill involving the exemption of important departments of the civil service from the provisions of the civil service law, not only as a backward step in the progress toward the general recognition and enforcement of the merit system in the federal service, but also as a departure from the solemn pledge and definite promise to sustain and promote the merit system contained in the platform of the Democratic party.

Resolved, That the League officially condemns the practice of attacking the merit system by riders to revenue and appropriation bills, as such provisions have no proper place in such bills, and such practice prevents the fair and independent consideration of the merits of the propositions contained in such riders.

Upon the passage of the Amendment by the Senate, the Secretary of the League telegraphed to the President as follows:

On behalf of the National Civil Service Reform League I earnestly urge that you veto urgent deficiency appropriation bill because of provision exempting from civil service law subordinates of collectors of internal revenue and marshals. Provision affects not only deputies, but all subordinates of collectors and marshals, and is a vicious attack on merit system through rider legislation.

On October 22nd, nine days after receipt of the protest by the League, President Wilson signed the Bill and filed the following memorandum:

I am convinced, after careful examination of the facts, that the offices of deputy collector and deputy marshal were never intended to be included under the ordinary provisions of the civil service law. The control of the whole method and spirit of the administration of the proviso in this bill, which concerns the appointment of these officers, is no less entirely in my hands now than it was before the bill became

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law. My warm advocacy and support both of the principle and of the *bona fide* practice of civil service reform is known to the whole country, and there is no danger that the spoils principle will creep in with my approval or connivance.

Such, in brief, is the history of a law whose enactment signalizes reversion to the spoils system as against the merit system, in flat violation of the pledge of the Democratic party and of the reiterated professions of the Democratic President.

What are the excuses offered?

President Wilson sets them forth in his exculpatory memorandum. In the first place:

I am convinced, after a careful examination of the facts, that the offices of deputy collector and deputy marshal were never intended to be included under the ordinary provisions of the civil service law.

This has a familiar ring. It was upon his personal "understanding" of the "intent" of the Congress as contrasted with the text of the bill that the President based his official approval of the "rider" exempting labor unions and farmers' associations from prosecution under the Anti-trust Act. So now he divines that the Civil Service Law was "never intended" to apply to deputy collectors and deputy marshals. But why? What are the "facts" from which this conclusion is deduced? No such exemption appears in the statute itself and but two official rulings have been rendered on the question. One was by the Attorney-General in 1907 and the other by the Comptroller of the Treasury in 1910. Both were to the effect that these appointments do fall within the meaning of the statute and that the President had the undoubted right, which thereupon he exercised, to include them in the classified service. On this statement, which it temperately pronounces "unfortunate," the Civil Service Reform League, of which Mr. Wilson was but recently a Vice-President and is still, we assume, a member, "takes issue squarely with the President."

With respect to the army of subordinates and employees withdrawn by the "rider" from the classified service, the President maintains a discreet silence. Here apparently could be found no room for even an imagined interpretation of intent.

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The President continues:

The control of the whole method and spirit of the administration of the proviso in this bill, which concerns the appointment of these officers, is no less entirely in my hands now than it was before the bill became a law.

That is, the President might issue an executive order, as his predecessors had done, requiring collectors and marshals to continue to appoint their subordinates from the civil service registers. The League begged him to prove his good faith by doing so forthwith. His response appeared in the following order issued by Commissioner Osborn of the Internal Revenue Bureau on October 29th:

Collectors of internal revenue:

Referring to that portion of the urgent deficiency act, approved October 22, 1913, relating to the appointment of deputy collectors of internal revenue, collectors are advised that the object of this provision of law is efficiency and only efficiency, and that any tendency to use this class of appointments merely for personal reward, or for anything that savors of the spoils system, will be regarded as a very serious disregard of public duty, and that they will be expected to deal with these matters in a spirit which the whole country will approve.

Hereafter when vacancies in this class of offices occur or changes are contemplated, and before such vacancies are filled or such changes are effected, collectors will forward to this office the names of the persons whom it is desired to appoint, together with a statement of their qualifications and records.

No appointments in this class of officers shall hereafter be made by collectors without the approval of the Department.

(Signed) W. H. Osborn,
Commissioner.

By Direction of the President.

(Signed) W. G. McAdoo,
Secretary of the Treasury.

"Efficiency and only efficiency" is a most resolute phrase, used first by Andrew Jackson and since by every spoilsman in public office. But the true way to obtain efficiency, according to the League to whose principles Mr. Wilson has so frequently and so recently avowed his allegiance, is through the merit system, which now, so far as it applies to some thousands of employes, by his signature to the bill and by his refusal to renew the executive order, he has abolished. The Osborn notice contains not a word which President Jackson would have disapproved. It leaves the collectors wholly free to make whatever changes they may see fit, after having set forth the admirable qualifications which as-

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suredly every appointee will possess, for the information and approval of the sympathetic Department. "Any tendency to use this class of appointments" for political purposes, "will be regarded as a very serious disregard of public duty." Yes, indeed, very serious! Very solemn, would be better; very solemn buncombe.

To say, as Commissioner Osborn says, "by direction of the President," that a change which wholly eliminates restriction upon appointments and re-establishes what Woodrow Wilson so accurately described in *The State* as "the unfortunate, the demoralizing influences which have been allowed to determine executive appointments since President Jackson's time," in no way "savors of the spoils system," evinces a hardihood of presumption that would have surpassed the imagination of Machiavelli.

President Wilson's reference to the country-wide knowledge of his "warm advocacy and support" of civil service reform calls for no comment. It has long been recognized and served an excellent purpose in winning votes in the recent campaign. The point in issue is one, not of profession, but of performance.

Why did President Wilson permit this backward step to be taken? That is the question. By a nod of his head he could have beaten it in the House of Representatives, where a change of only three votes would have prevented its passage. But no intimation was forthcoming, and the obnoxious "rider" was made a law of the land by the signature at the bottom of "Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States"—to which should have been added, for the making of a complete record, "Former Vice-President of the National Civil Service Reform League."

EVERYBODY SATISFIED

THE results of the November elections proved gratifying to all parties and all politicians directly concerned. The President lost no time in commending the wisdom of the people in upholding his Administration, and both Secretary Bryan and Secretary Josephus shyly but firmly acquiesced in his judgment that this is what happened. It is a reasonably safe assumption that Secretary Redfield would have done likewise if he had been within hearing distance. In

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fact, the common understanding is that all members of the Cabinet were, as usual, of one mind upon the subject.

The President was particularly pleased with the returns from New Jersey and had a right to be. True, his personally designated candidate for Governor did not poll a majority of the votes, but neither did he in the National Election; so nothing was lost; in fact, Mr. Fielder's percentage of the total was slightly larger than Mr. Wilson's. Despite the refusal of the Massachusetts Democrats to indorse the Administration, Mr. Walsh's handsome victory was heralded as a testimonial of approval, if not of affection, and warm congratulations were passed promptly over the wires. The overwhelming triumph of the Fusion candidate over the regular organization in New York City impelled some reflection, but at the expiration of forty-eight hours Mr. Mitchell, too, became the grateful recipient of cordial and sincere felicitations.

The three lieutenants of the Administration whose eloquence contributed largely to the happy results and to whom, we have no doubt, the President expressed due appreciation, were the Secretary of State, the Senator from Illinois, and the Third Assistant Public Servant. Mr. Bryan spoke without pay in New Jersey, and Mr. Dudley Field Malone defiantly ignored the wishes of his distinguished and personally helpful father-in-law in New York. So, at least, 'twas said, and we know naught to the contrary; in any case, the Collectorship is his reward.

But the chief glory goes to Senator James Hamilton Lewis, who carried Massachusetts. When that impassioned orator descended upon the field of action only State and personal issues were involved. Mr. Bird and Mr. Gardner were descanting somewhat vehemently upon their respective demerits, and Mr. Walsh was emulating canny Br'er Rabbit. Senator Lewis perceived with the eye of an eagle the danger which lurked in this situation and proceeded forthwith to impart the requisite thrill to enthralled multitudes.

"Just now," he declared, impressively, "before the nations of the world, tremble two serious problems."

The orator paused, the audience shivered, the building shook. But presently the voice continued:

> One is the effort of President Wilson and his Administration to maintain before the Orient, particularly Japan, that doctrine of home rule which our fathers in Massachusetts established as the fundamental

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theory of the American Democracy—the right of the States to regulate and control their home affairs, their schools, their lands, the manner and kinds of people who should mingle in their citizenship to increase or dilute it.

This question, as to whether this privilege shall continue as against the Oriental theory of government, or whether our National government shall attempt to override merely at the demands of a foreign nation, is the great problem at Washington which President Wilson is seeking to solve.

Again, in Mexico, as is well known to all, we have a most delicate situation. The public press brings us the information that England and Germany—doubtless misunderstanding the issue—have been about to join with Mexico against us. The President has asked these governments to wait until they can be fully informed on the situation in Mexico and thus be advised as to our policy known as the Monroe Doctrine.

England, Germany, and Spain, misunderstanding the issues, would at once conclude that President Wilson's Mexican policy had been repudiated; that he had been condemned and the Administration overthrown. Mexico will go further; she will preach to her people that this condemnation was because he had not recognized Huerta. Is the conclusion too far fetched that war might be precipitated with all its horrors?

The argument was convincing; the plea irresistible. In the opinion of those present the conclusion was *not* fetched too far. Sobered and thoughtful, thousands of Democrats returned to their homes and informed their anxious families that, under no circumstances and for no ordinary considerations, would they vote for the precipitation of a war which was likely to be accompanied by all its horrors. From that moment the result ceased to be in doubt, and a noble victory was won for Mr. Fitzgerald and his co-laborers in the cause of anti-bossism.

But Democratic elation over the results was not exclusive. Republicans, too, rejoiced with exceeding great joy. Nearly a hundred thousand wanderers had returned to the fold in New Jersey alone and they had actually carried the great State of New York. Clearly, the Progressive organization was disintegrating with amazing rapidity and—the Democratic host was still a distinctly minority party.

And then the redoubtable Colonel! From far-off Argentine came the exultant shout, "It is too glorious for words." Which, if any, particular happening he referred to can only be surmised. It may have been the election of Democrats in New York, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, or of a Barnes-ridden Legislature or of the Honorable William Sulzer as a candidate of the Progressive party. Who can

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tell? And what boots it? The overpowering fact is that the Colonel, too, was glad, thus making the vote of joy unanimous.

The only net deduction, of course, is that the Democrats are likely to retain power so long as Mr. Roosevelt continues to render the patriotic service which contributes to that desirable end.

THE CASE OF BROTHER PINDELL

THE one vital fact that has emerged from the mass of officially truthful statements issued by, for, and on behalf of His Prospective Excellency, Brother Henry Means Pindell, of Peoria, Illinois, is that Senator James Hamilton Lewis is his own detectaphone. Alone and unaided, except by his ready pen and ingratiating disposition, he achieves revelations with an ease never imagined as possible by even the renowned Mr. Burns. His latest exploit shall not pass unrecorded.

Be it known, then, that the Brother from Peoria whose name would have been a godsend to Dickens is "an original Wilson man," whatever that may be. He is also a journalist whose fame has not only penetrated every ward in the teeming city of Peoria, but has been wafted like a fleecy cloud over the prairies for miles and miles around. He has traveled extensively to Chicago, and has acquired what they call in Peoria "a wide circle" of acquaintances. Once upon a time he introduced a famous orator from Nebraska to a Chautauqua gathering. Twice upon another time he printed upon the front of his journal a wash drawing of the Hon. James Hamilton Lewis. Although a patriot and a Democrat, he never thirsted for political honors. Like Chairman William F. McCombs, though possibly for dissimilar reasons, he preferred to seek places for others.

We have no occasion to doubt that Brother Pindell was enjoying himself as well as could reasonably be expected of an original Wilson man when, on August 17th, he received the following communication:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 15, 1913.*

The Hon. Horace M. Pindell, Peoria, Ill.

DEAR MR. PINDELL,—Your favor to Secretary Bryan was shown to me by him when I called upon him yesterday morning. Under the new law

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to be enacted there will be a great demand for honest and immaculate men to be collectors of the new income tax. The Secretary would like you to be one of those men.

It would be a place which would not require that you relinquish the supervision of your paper, and it would be a position which would give you two or three clerkships under yourself, to be named by yourself.

After you have thought this offer over, kindly write me as freely as you would like, and remember that I am always your friend, and realize that you were the original Wilson man in Illinois and must be taken care of. You may rely upon me as always your representative here, and to do everything that I can to advance your interests.

Yours, with best wishes,

J. HAMILTON LEWIS.

It was the voice of the Tempter; so at least it seemed at first glance. But Brother Pindell's suspicions were aroused. The letter bore internal evidences of fraud. In the first place, his name was not Horace, but Henry, or Hen for short. Then, too, what had the Secretary of State to do with naming Collectors of Revenue? And was it conceivable that a punctilious statesman like Mr. Bryan would deliberately propose to a true Democrat that he accept a public office and draw the salary while two or three clerks "named by himself" did the work? It could not be. The letter was a base fabrication. Although admittedly an original Wilson man, he nevertheless possessed sufficient intelligence to detect a clumsy forgery. He did not wish to be taken care of in that way, anyhow. He would not and did not reply.

But the wily Tempter persisted. Time flew till September 7th, when another franked official document was placed upon the editor's desk. It was dated "Washington, D. C., Sept. 5, 1913," and began insinuatingly thus:

The Hon. Horace M. Pindell, Peoria, Ill.

DEAR PINDELL,—I must ask you to consider this letter as extremely confidential and personal. It is up to the Administration to appoint an Ambassador to St. Petersburg, but it is a position which, if offered to you, would not necessitate your losing control of nor association with your paper.

Again "the Hon. Horace" instead of the Hon. Hen.; and yet undeniably it was, indeed, "up to the Administration to appoint an Ambassador to St. Petersburg," or at least to the country in which that interesting city is located. Brother Pindell read on:

Now, the idea of Secretary Bryan is that if you would accept the place of Ambassador to St. Petersburg and all the honor that goes with the

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position, you could resign in a year—say October 1, 1914—and return to your paper, before losing track of your business affairs, and yet have the great honor attached to the place.

It was only an "idea," to be sure, but it was of the variety known in Peoria as "grand," despite the official necessity of accepting "all the honor that goes with the position." And the suggested date of return—"say October 1, 1914"—was, after all, but tentative. Brother Pindell read on:

There will be no treaties to adjudicate, and no political affairs to bother with, for the Administration will see to that for a year, and you would not be tied to St. Petersburg, but would have trips to Berlin and Vienna and the other capitals of Europe, and also Stockholm, and perhaps Copenhagen, and all the attendant delights that go with such trips. You would meet with the delightful companionships of the English and other officers connected with the various legations at St. Petersburg, and would be socially and officially treated, as my letters to those abroad would serve you.

That there would be "no treaties to adjudicate" was obvious in view of the fact, known or unknown to Brother Pindell, that at present there is no treaty existing between Russia—or should we say St. Petersburg?—and the United States. In any case, he would not be tied to St. Petersburg's apron-strings; he could take a sleeper at will for Berlin or Vienna, Stockholm or "perhaps Copenhagen," and revel in the "attendant delights" of joyous journeyings upon the Continental metals. He would also be "treated" socially and officially at the various legations to all National beverages from vodka to grape juice. Brother Pindell read on:

I think you have a little daughter. Think what it would mean to her, all the remainder of her life, to say that her father had been Minister to Russia, and of all the honor and prestige that will go with it to the third and fourth generations.

Not only to the little daughter, but even to the third and fourth generations would descend the honor and prestige of a father's and a great-grandfather's distinction. Brother Pindell read on:

If you will accept the position for a year, kindly wire me at once. I have the Secretary on the telephone and am writing this letter after the most confidential conference with him.

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No diplomatic matters will be taken up during your service, and you will have all the honors of having been Ambassador to Russia; but, if you accept this position, it must be with the understanding that you will resign on the 1st of October, 1914, and then you will be able to, and no doubt glad to, return to your business interests in Peoria and your paper.

You will not have to be at the expense of a permanent residence, as are other Ambassadors, and you will have in your family forever the honor that must accompany the holding of such a position. And in doing this you will please the President, and also your good friend Secretary Bryan. Please consider this confidential in all its parts, and answer, too. Yours with best wishes,

J. HAMILTON LEWIS.

Ah, but this was different. The date of retirement was not tentative, after all; it was fixed; "if you accept this position, it must be with the understanding that you resign on the 1st of October, 1914." Seemingly, after "the most confidential conference," the Secretary of State got "on the telephone" and stayed there until he had made sure that the terms were stated so explicitly as to avert the possibility of misunderstanding. That Brother Pindell's *amour propre* was touched we can readily imagine; and yet might he not be justly accused of leze-majesty if he should fail to "please the President"? The little daughter, too! As a tried but true Peoria parent, could he deny to her the opportunity of playing tag with a little czarevitch, or whatever they call him? The appeal was too great; the temptation too strong. Brother Pindell accepted.

We cannot at the moment recall a simpler, more straightforward, more definite, or in a way more touching transaction in American statecraft. And yet its genuineness has been not only questioned, but actually denied by those most directly concerned. Brother Pindell, for example, declared, either positively or diplomatically, on November 9th, that he had never received the letter quoted above. On the same day Senator Lewis, "showing much annoyance," was interviewed in Chicago with this result, as reported in the newspapers:

Without using the repellent word "theft" Senator Lewis announced that Mr. Pindell's correspondence had been "taken by some persons." Also the persons had not published the letter in its exact form. Finally Colonel Lewis gave this explanation:

"As I have said, any letter I have written to any person must be referred to by that person. It cannot be by me. It appears that Mr. Pindell's correspondence seems to have been taken by some persons and,

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as Mr. Pindell points out, expressions are used in the printed copies which were never in the original. I have no copies here.

Obviously the distinguished Senator and His Prospective Excellency had had no opportunity to meet in "confidential conference." On November 12th, however, after returning to Washington and conversing with the President and the Secretary of State, Senator Lewis declared plainly that "if the newspapers published a letter that was misleading and misinforming in so far as it appeared to be either my statements or as coming from me, I am responsible for this, and not the papers." Having thus honorably and tactfully exonerated the powerful American press, the Senator continued:

> The creation of these letters assumed to have been from me to Mr. Pindell, as published, now develops to have been the result of collusion on the part of a former employee of my office in Washington who had previously forged my name to checks and had been discharged, but who had been protected by me from the penalty because of his family and certain of his confederates.
>
> Later, through the co-operation of some enemy of Mr. Pindell (in Illinois, as I am informed), who vouched that such letters had been seen either in the possession of Mr. Pindell or had been spoken of by him as having been received, was this faithless employee able to impose upon reputable newspapers.
>
> My assurance to the heads of the Administration upon the subject, together with such courses as Mr. Pindell took, closes the subject both in the opinion of the officers of the Administration and all others concerned as well as the Senate.

Despite the immediate and favorable effect wrought upon the public mind by Senator Lewis's notably lucid statement, Secretary Bryan, inexorably determined to clarify the situation definitely and finally, issued the following proclamation:

> The Ambassadorship to Russia is vacant, and the President has for some time been desirous of filling it by an appointment which would be entirely worthy of the great dignity and importance of the post. Knowing Mr. Pindell personally, his character, his ability, his exceptional fitness for the duties of such a place, he offered him an appointment. Mr. Pindell did not seek the appointment. It was tendered to him not only without any solicitation on his part, but without any knowledge or anticipation on his part that it would be offered to him.
>
> In response to the offer he frankly stated that he would be glad to serve the Administration in any way in which the President thought he could serve successfully, but that he did not feel that he could conscientiously obligate himself to serve the full ordinary term of a foreign appointment because he did not feel that he could leave his business so long. The

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President asked him to accept it for as long a time as he could stay, and he consented.

This is a full statement of a matter which has been grossly misrepresented. The President will not allow malicious representations to interfere with his right to nominate to the Senate the best qualified men within his choice for conspicuous and responsible positions.

Thereupon the Secretary of State officially and in language hallowed by diplomatic tradition pronounced the incident closed.

Corroborative evidence, if any be required, of Secretary Bryan's assertion that Brother Pindell did not seek the position is to be found in the first letter quoted above. Clearly, he was urged by the Administration at the outset to become an "honest and immaculate" Collector of Revenue, with the aid of two or three clerks, and quite likely he would have accepted the appointment if he had not discovered that the letter from Senator Lewis was a forgery. What more natural, then, that he should be offered the Ambassadorship to Russia? The place was vacant, as the Secretary remarked, and awaiting the advent of an Ambassador whose "exceptional fitness" was proven by the fact that he had been considered worthy of appointment to the exalted station of Collector of Income Taxes for the Third District of Illinois.

For our part, we rejoice that "the President will not allow malicious representations to interfere with his right to nominate to the Senate the best qualified men within his choice for conspicuous and responsible positions." The truth is that we have never doubted his determination on that point since he named his Secretary of State, but if any uncertainty had remained it would have been effectually dispelled by the appointment of Brother Pindell to the most exacting Court in Europe.

He will do well there. We learn from a character sketch written in Peoria that, besides being known personally by the President, he "is fond of good horses and outdoor sports, including golf, and also likes a game of chance which calls for mental ability." We hear that in St. Petersburg they call their hands in French, but Brother Pindell speaks French with a fluency equalled only by the Hon. John Lind's Spanish, and, if he plays with the Czar, should win. In Vienna, Berlin, Stockholm, and "perhaps Copenhagen," he has only to mention his middle name to be assured a hearty welcome.

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Good luck, then, to Brother Pindell; good time to the little daughter; and good sport to the third and fourth generations!

JUST JOSEPHUS

According to our esteemed contemporary, THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, the Hon. Flavius Josephus Daniels was born "at Washington, North Carolina, on the left bank of the River Tar."

With respect, he was not. He was born at Blowing Rock, North Carolina, on the right bank of Spout River, where the future naval strategist launched his first cries and ships.—*The Sun.*

WITHOUT respect, he was not. He was born in Washington, County Pitt, due west from Alligator and Gum Neck and due north from Catfish Lake and Gum Branch. There is no such rock as Blowing, and Spout River dried up on March 4th, 1913. And his name is not and never was Flavius, though we confess it might have been, and fittingly. Not, however, as the Tribune of the People who spoke of Cæsar thus:

> Who else would soar above the view of men
> And keep us all in servile fearfulness.

But rather as the Faithful Steward who to his master said:

> So the gods bless me,
> When all our offices have been oppress'd
> With riotous feeders, when our vaults have wept
> With drunken spilth of wine, when every room
> Hath blaz'd with lights and bray'd with minstrelsy,
> I have retir'd me to a wakeful couch,
> And set mine eyes at flow.

And later, when sternly told, "Go you, sir, to the Senators," replied:

> They answer, in a joint and corporate voice,
> That now they are at fall, want treasure, cannot
> Do what they would; are sorry—you are honorable—
> But yet they could have wish'd—they know not—
> Something hath been amiss—a noble nature
> May catch a wrench—would all were well—'tis pity!

Yet finally did return accompanied by two Senators and did ruefully remark to them:

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It is in vain that you would speak with Timon;
For he is set so only to himself
That nothing but himself which looks like man
Is friendly with him.

So we may not deny the appositeness of Flavius, but it happened that verity rather than verisimilitude was the dominant force on the River Tar when Josephus was born, and that his parents knew their History of the Bible better than their Shakespeare. And that is why they called him Just Josephus. Again we say, though only once a month:

Truth crushed to earth shall rise again!

LA CHATTE NOIRE CHEZ ELLE

UNSOPHISTICATED residents of this formerly wicked metropolis are accustomed to think of the masculine Le Chat Noir as the name of a restaurant where commendable viands may be obtained for calculable sums, but to country folk versed in the lore of superstition it signifies either an angel in disguise or a demon in miniature. Hence the interest that was manifested in the National capital the other day at a rumor of the appearance at the White House of a cat that was not only black, but segregated, contrary to the law, if not to the custom, of the land. Mr. John R. McLean recounted the incident in his Washington *Post*.

"When President Wilson went to luncheon yesterday," he wrote and published, "something soft startled him by brushing against his leg."

The President thought at first it was the impressible Postmaster-General, but upon looking closely he perceived that it was a dusky tabby, and, greatly relieved, he invited the visitor to come in, come in. "She stayed with the President throughout the meal," continued Mr. McLean, "and got a big saucer of cream. Then she lay all day on a sofa in the President's study and purred. Nobody knows whence she came. She may stay at the White House, if she likes."

As luck would have it, Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard was in Washington at the time inquiring into rumors of administrative discrimination with respect to color in the public service, and made a quick but thorough investigation,

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with the following result as duly recorded in his New York *Evening Post.*

> At noon, on the preceding day, a friend of beast and bird, who shall be nameless, was walking through the White House grounds when the cat came up to him and mewed either for sympathy or for something to eat or very likely both. The first thought that came into the head of the man appealed to was that, if the cat was not fed, there soon would be a wholesale slaughter of the birds in the White House grounds. He also felt that something ought to be done to relieve the immediate distress of the cat. What was to be done? The White House was the nearest available habitation. He picked up the black cat, stowed it under his arm, and literally sneaked down into the basement entrance of the White House. There he looked about, and, although it was a day when the public is allowed to visit those regions of the White House, neither the public nor the attendant was in sight. The theory of attack was that, if the cat could once find its way into the living part of the White House, some one would be sure to feed it. Watching his opportunity to escape observation, the doer of good by stealth carried the cat to the foot of the stairs leading up to the main living part of the Executive Mansion, and then "shooed" the waif straight up the stairs, and the cat, obeying the "shoo," went flying up.

Subsequently the intrusively curious correspondent of the Boston *Transcript* pretended to identify the hero of the tale as Mr. Edward B. Clark, the distinguished journalist, but the common belief in Washington continues to be that it was no other than the sympathetic Secretary of State, whose chief occupation of late has been that of a "doer of good by stealth" for political friends of former days.

Be that as it may, the insinuating tabby, unlike the vast majority of applicants, secured the place she really wanted instead of another, for which, upon second thought, she was deemed better fitted. That the President broke his rule in this regard proves either his disdain of superstition or his gratefulness to the visitor for tagging along behind, instead of crossing his path. According to common secular tradition, the latter performance would have presaged certain misfortune, but we doubt if the President would have been diverted from the doctrine of predestination by any such notion as that. There is no Scriptural authority for it, anyway. In point of fact, cats would never have gotten into the Bible at all but for Jeremiah's friend Baruch, and when he was ejected as summarily as Huerta clearly ought to be willing to be, the cats went with him. So we really know very little of their domestication beyond Engleman's assertion in "Die Katzen im Alterthum," in *Jahrbuch des Kaiser-*

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lichen Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts to the effect that, unless wall-paintings speak falsely, they used to lie upon the hearths of Pompeii.

Personally we have never cared much about cats, but we hope this particular protégée of the Secretary of Foreign and Domestic Affairs will enjoy life in the President's study, while she cuddles into a corner of the sofa and purrs her satisfaction at being permitted to impart to the accustomed atmosphere a feeling so homelike as to seem almost human.

HELLO, THERE!

"Be good and you'll be lonesome," wrote Uncle Mark. Indeed, yes; that we learn without half trying as individuals, but to suffer retaliation as a mighty Nation; ah! that is different. And yet what do we read in *Le Figaro:*

Eh! là-bas!

La duane américaine brime aigrettes et actrices

GARE A LA PEINE DU TALION!

The cause? It is here:

De charmantes Parisiennes débarquent à New-York. Elles portent, naturellement, de délicieux chapeaux. Dans leurs malles, il y a, bien entendu, d'autres chapeaux exquis.

Des sauvages, brusquement, se précipitent, qui massacrent ces jolis chapeaux, qui mettent sens dessus dessous malles, valises et chapelières et qui, le carnage accompli, se retirent flegmatiquement en disant:

—Aoh! . . . C'est la loâ. . . Yes. . .

Et comme les pauvres petites Parisiennes demeurent interdites désolées et décoiffées, on leur explique que c'est en effet "la loi." . . . Il est interdit, dans l'Etat de New-York, de tuer les oiseaux. Il est interdit, par suite, d'y introduire des plumages d'oiseaux immolés. Tous les chapeaux ornés de quelques plumes ou d'ailes légères sont donc coupés par la censure, tels des refrains obscènes. . . .

And worse is yet to come. La, la:

Ce n'est pas tout. . . .

Une grande actrice anglaise, nantie d'un engagement formidable, arrive à New-York où elle doit chanter pendant une quinzaine. Son fiancé, un jockey réputé, l'accompagne. . . .

Que font MM. les Yankees? . . .

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Ils coffrent l'actrice. Ils coffrent le jockey. Ils leur disent, à tous deux:

—Aoh! . . . C'est la loâ. . . . Yes. . . . . Vous n'êtes pas du tout désirables parce que vous n'êtes pas mariés. Vous allez repartir dare-dare pour l'Angleterre. . . . Yes. . . . En attendant, pour sauvegarder la pureté des mœurs de la Libre Amérique, vous demeurerez tous deux cloîtrés. . . . Yes. . . .

A "choice little joke worthy of the Mark Twain," but "*nous aussi, pourtant, nous sommes un peuple farceur.*"

Si MM. les Américans veulent rire, nous pourrons bien nous amuser un peu. . . .

Je propose, tout d'abord, que l'on interdise de fouler le sol de la douce France à tout Yankee chaussé de ces informes cargo-boats qui usurpent, outre-Atlantique, le nom de chaussures. Parfaitement! . . . Ce sera la loi—la loâ! . . . On déchaussera ces messieurs, dès leur débarquement au Havre ou à Saint-Nazaire. . . Et ils s'en iront, pieds nus, acheter des souliers bien français. . . .

A menace to American manufacturers! Imagine! But yet a direr threat:

La mode des dents en or est contraire à tous nos principes démocratiques. Nous décrèterons que la dent en or n'aura plus cours en France. Et des dentistes de la douane seront chargés d'extirper, à tous les Américains venant chez nous, ces molaires ou ces canines illégales. . . . Pourquoi pas? . . .

Et puis, véritablement, nous ne saurions plus longtemps tolérer que tous les Américains soient rasés. . . . A leur arrivée en France, nous les enfermerons dans des lazarets appropriés, d'où ils ne pourront sortir que munis de moustaches solides et gauloises et de barbes frisées.

Thus the charmantes Parisiennes shall be avenged. Remains "une grande actrice anglaise," to say nothing or as little as may be of "son fiancé, un jockey réputé." How can the *entente cordiale* be maintained unless she, too, be vindicated by sharp and effective reprisal? It is easy:

Enfin, quant aux mœurs, il est bien évident que nous ne saurions nous montrer moins intransigeants et moins rigoristes que nos amis les Américains. . . .

Nous ne plaisanterons pas sur ce chapitre-là. Tout Yankee surpris, à Montmartre ou ailleurs, en galante compagnie, sera irrémédiablement décrété indésirable, et rapatrié par le plus prochain paquebot. . . .

"Ainsi," we are told complacently, "la vieille formule, du reste discutable: Tous les hommes sont frères . . ." sera remplacée par le principe suivant: "Tous les hommes sont indésirables. . . ."

Clearly, it is a situation charged with peril to the friendly relations of the two republics. What is to be done? Our

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Ambassador seemingly pays no attention to official duties while awaiting the arrival of a reluctant successor. Cannot a Confidential Agent of the Administration be sent to Paris? Where is Assistant President House? Has William Bayard Hale returned? Is Brother Pindell busy? Eh! là-bas! Mr. Secretary Bryan! Wake up! The house is on fire! Sound the time-worn antepenultimatum! Bee-hold the Republic!

FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CLUBS

THE foremost American diplomat now living—barring Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Mr. Wayne MacVeagh, Mr. Choate, and General Porter as of another generation—is undoubtedly Dr. David Jayne Hill, who served his apprenticeship under Secretary Hay and won the respect and admiration of European statesmen while representing his country abroad. Just as Mr. John Bassett Moore and Mr. Adee stand pre-eminent as masters respectively of international law and the technique of diplomacy, so is Dr. Hill without a peer in the shaping of National policies. It is then a matter of sincere congratulation that he has returned to his own country at a time when the wisdom derived from thought and experience is sadly needed.

We wish that every thinking American might read the article on "The Crisis of Constitutionalism" which appears in this REVIEW. Dr. Hill writes, of course, as a scholar and philosopher rather than as a diplomat, but the marked advantage which he has acquired, from long and thorough training, over others who have treated of the subject becomes quickly apparent to the reader. We cannot recall, in recent years, a setting forth of the basic principles peculiar to our government so incomplex and understandable, nor, better yet, so convincing a statement of the reasons for their more rigid application and of the true methods of accomplishment.

"What is our political future to be?" is the question with which Dr. Hill finds the United States is now brought face to face. That the answer will be found ultimately in the reason and conscience of the people he has no doubt, but first, he declares with emphasis, must be determined *the lines* on which the answer is to be given.

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"What we need at present is not so much leaders as a statement of the *principles* by which we should be led." And here the choice must be made "between experience and experiment; between arbitrary decisions and fundamental principles; in a word, between political anarchy and Constitutional government." If any corroboration of this declaration were needed, it can be found readily in the present tendency of legislation, in the constant expanding of the powers of government, in the growth of paternalistic sentiment, in the resentment against law "because it *is* law," in the encroachment upon the prerogatives bestowed upon others, in the development of positive dictation or "bossism" in the guise of "leadership," and in the ready assurance of those holding or seeking authority that they are, indeed, Tribunes of the People rather than the administrative officers they were designed by the Constitution to be. Dr. Hill might well have enlarged and may yet, we trust, expand his thought along these lines.

Of his own judgment that the Constitution itself is "the one overmastering issue," Dr. Hill leaves no room for doubt. And he is firmly convinced that now, of all times, the preservation of Constitutional government hangs upon "cultivation of respect for the spirit" of our fundamental law. To this end, speaking as a practical statesman, he advocates definite organization. "If we are to defend the Constitution, we who believe in it must act together." Finally, recalling that "in the days of our Civil War much aid was afforded to the cause of preserving the Union by the formation of clubs of citizens," he urges the inauguration of a similar movement, feeling certain that the opposition sure to arise would at least "furnish surprising proofs that we are at present passing through a crisis of constitutionalism in which the great structure of liberty and justice erected by our fathers is being insidiously undermined."

The suggestion well deserves thoughtful consideration. It is probably not too much to say that, to the adoption of this method, many years ago, England to-day owes her National existence. Surely, at any rate, to the influence of the clubs may safely be attributed many far-reaching reforms and a higher order of politics generally. If so successful there, why should Dr. Hill's suggestion fail here? Is it not worth while and worth trying?

We invite opinions from the Press.

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COMMENT

To usurp supreme and absolute authority in a free State and subject it to tyranny, the people must have already become corrupt by gradual steps from generation to generation. And therefore all such as desire to make a change in the government of a republic, whether in favor of liberty or in favor of tyranny, must well examine the condition of things, and from that judge of the difficulties of their undertaking. For it is as difficult to make a people free that is resolved to live in servitude, as it is to subject a people to servitude that is determined to be free. In any such attempts men should well consider the state of the times and govern themselves accordingly.—From "Discourses on the Books of Titus Livius."

A jovial Englishman who returned recently to his interesting island from a visit to this benighted land sums up in *Truth* his observations in the gentle assertion that "the North American type is, socially, politically, and commercially, the most detestable which modern civilization has yet produced." Canada is no better than the States. In the two countries there is "the same rudeness of manners, the same greediness of money, the same political corruption." Not only do the inhabitants of both "eat enormously" themselves, but they charge the refined traveler "just double" what he has to pay elsewhere. For example:

> I can live in the best English or European hotels, with a sitting-room and my own servant, for £2 10*s.* a day; in Canada and the United States it cost me £5 a day. I have before me the bill of a Canadian hotel, in which the following items occur: Breakfast, $1.80, that is 7*s.* 2*d.*; luncheon, $4.50, *i.e.*, 18*s.*; dinner, $5.10, *i.e.*, 20*s.* 5*d.* (these meals were for myself only and not including drink); laundry (one week's linen), $5.64, or more than 22*s.*

The sum total of tips, too, was frightful. How much, "luckily for peace of mind," he could not recall. In any case, by way of contrast:

> On landing at Liverpool the other day I traveled upon the Midland and lunched in the train. My bill was 2*s.* 3*d.*, and I gave the attendant 3*d.*, for which he said, "Thank you, sir; much obliged." In Canada or the States he would have thrown the change on the table with words of insult.

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Maybe so; though we surmise that he would have merely emphasized the "sir," instead of hurling words of insult upon the table. But what feazes us is the state of mind that would have possessed this dainty feeder who expended only "$4.50, *i.e.*, 18*s*.," for luncheon and "$5.10, *i.e.*, 20*s* 5*d*.," for dinner without "drink," if he, too, had been accustomed to "eat enormously" and had once gotten his feet into the trough.

So I feel to-night like a man who is lodging happily in the inn which lies half-way along the journey, and that in the morning with a fresh impulse we shall go the rest of the journey and sleep at the journey's end like men with quiet consciences, knowing that we have served our fellow-men, and have thereby tried to serve God.

We think we know what the President of the United States means; he had put the Tariff to sleep and was about to wake up the Currency; but can the former President of Princeton University parse this bewildering sentence?

Think of the revered Nathaniel Hawthorne writing home in this wise in 1885, as quoted in Caroline Ticknor's new book:

I shall spend a year on the Continent, and then decide whether to go back to the Wayside, or to stay abroad and write books. But I had rather hold this office two years longer: for I have not seen half enough of England, and there is the germ of a new romance in my mind which will be all the better for ripening slowly. Besides, America is now wholly given over to a d——d mob of scribbling women, and I should have no chance of success while the public taste is occupied with their trash—and should be ashamed of myself if I did succeed. What is the mystery of these innumerable editions of the *Lamplighter* and other books neither better nor worse? Worse they could not be, and better they need not be when they sell by the 100,000.

And again a year later:

It gives me pleasure to hear of the great success of "Hiawatha." On this side of the water it is received with greater favor than . . . any of Longfellow's former works, and has gained him admirers among those who have hitherto stood aloof. Nevertheless, the following lines have been sent to me:

Hiawatha! Hiawatha!
Sweet Trochaic milk and water!
Milk and water Mississippi
Flowing o'er a bed of sugar!—

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Through three hundred Ticknor pages,
With a murmur and a ripple,
Flowing, flowing, ever flowing—
Damn the river!—damn the poet!

Such language from a Consul of the U. S. A.! Would it be tolerated under the Chautauqua regime? Besides, *The Lamplighter* was a first-rate story, quite as good, we should say, as *When Knighthood Was in Flower.*

We read in the public prints that "a plump 'possum" slipped into the back yard of Secretary Bryan's home in Calumet Place and scurried up a tree, and that the Secretary "called a negro servant and sent him after the invader." Finally, "the 'possum fell to the ground and the Secretary of State whacked him over the head and lugged him to the house in triumph." Can this be true? Has the imposition of fermentation impaired the efficacy of Mr. Bryan's bowels of compassion? Has the unaccustomed joy of official pomp deprived him of the sense of appreciation of a serviceable exemplar? What game is he playing at this very moment, if not 'possum? Cruel, cruel Bryan!

The Honorable George Walbridge Perkins.—*Chicago Record-Herald.*

Wrong; utterly and hopelessly wrong. Did not Mr. Perkins personally and with his own voice admit that if he had done in England what he did in America, he would have been knighted? Sir George Perkins it is and shall be henceforth and forever, or at least until the children find a better land to live in. By the way, speaking irreverently, perhaps, and irrelevantly, of course, who was it that said that a knight is a person who has not yet become a peer, but has ceased to be a gentleman? It wasn't Shaw, surely. Then it must have been Chesterton. Yes, that is right. It was.

Mrs. John Lind is a hero(ine) all by herself. Hats off to that fine lady.—*Buffalo News.*

All right as to the hats. But let us see. Mrs. Lind is the wife of a personal representative of the President of the United States, duly accredited to a presumably friendly nation, from whose officers she hid and enabled to escape two rebels. If the wife of a British official had performed

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a like service for two Confederates during *our* Civil War, what would Abraham Lincoln and William H. Seward have said—and done?

Governor and Mrs. Glynn, we are told, "moved into the Executive Mansion as soon as it had been thoroughly cleansed with a vacuum cleaner." They had not long to wait. Most of the vacuity had already been removed by the High Court. Now let the new and, we judge, capable and self-respecting Governor throw out the "detectaphones," and the People's House may again become a suitable visiting-place for ladies and gentlemen.

We invariably heed Hosea Biglow's advice never to predict unless we know. The Prohibition candidate for District Attorney of New York *was* elected unanimously. He was Charles S. Whitman—a likely candidate for Governor on the Republican and Progressive tickets next year. And if elected? Borah and Whitman, should we say?

What we cannot understand is why John Bassett Moore should ever have thought of resigning.

Another little problem in arithmetic is offered by the fact that this company carries the United States mails, exclusive of the parcel-post matter, at an actual loss of $400,000 a year.—*President Howard Elliott, of the New Haven Railroad.*

Then why do it?

We admire Theodore Roosevelt immensely, but we have a low opinion of his choice of friends.—*Emporia Gazette.*

Including Mr. William Allen White?

I personally believe that President Wilson's present course in dealing with Huerta is wise and judicious.—*Chairman William F. McCombs.*

Good for McCombs!

If you think too much about being re-elected, it is very difficult to be worth re-electing.—*President Wilson.*

Yes, indeed; but why the reflection?

What better Christmas present than a letter?

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THE CRISIS IN CONSTITUTIONALISM

BY DAVID JAYNE HILL

THOUGHTFUL men in all countries of the world are united in the conviction that Constitutional Government embodies the highest ideal for the regulation of human affairs ever conceived by man.

With regard to the attainability and permanence of this ideal, opinions differ widely. Most men agree in the belief that certain peoples are not ripe for it. Others consider it necessary to combine with it some vestiges of absolutism, as a means of rescuing society from the anarchy that would follow upon its possible failure. Still others openly oppose it because, for various reasons, it is their personal interest to do so.

The dangers to Constitutional Government, however, do not arise from the open opposition of its enemies; for in the field of free debate it is abundantly able to defend itself. Its real foes,—and they are not a few,—are those who do not avowedly attack or resist it; but who, while professing to be its friends and its advocates, secretly repudiate, or intentionally pervert, its fundamental principles.

In contrast with the political absolutism which it was intended to destroy, and which it has endeavored to supersede, Constitutional Government is based upon the principle of equal guarantees for the rights of all citizens, without distinction of persons or classes, under the protection of co-ordinate and distributed powers, exercised by public officers freely chosen by the people, and revocable after fixed periods of office. Recognizing life, personal liberty, and property as elements of inalienable right, Constitutional Government aims to guard these from every form of violation.

The mere statement of the meaning of Constitutional Government plainly indicates who are its natural enemies.

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These include all those who, in any form whatever, desire to make the State their private servant, and through control of the public powers use it to serve their own personal or class interests at the expense of others.

The division of men into friends and enemies of Constitutional Government must be based upon the attitude they assume toward its fundamental principle. This principle being the existence of equal and adequate guarantees, by which the life, the personal liberty, and the property of every citizen are rendered inviolate, every person and every organization that aims by means of exceptional legislation to secure advantages to the detriment of others must be classed as an enemy of Constitutional Government; which, —although not a guarantee of equal conditions, which is impossible,—is essentially a guarantee of equal rights.

The means by which the founders of Constitutional Government intended to obtain this guarantee were threefold.

First of all, the "inalienable rights" of all citizens were to be secured by a fundamental law which placed them beyond the reach of unequal legislation or executive violence. What the advocates of Constitutional Government had suffered from was the exercise of absolute and arbitrary authority. This they intended to end; and, in order to do so, they placed certain encroachments upon personal rights beyond the power of legislatures and executives. In brief, legislative bodies and executive officers were themselves made subject to law; and no man was to be judged except in accordance with the law. Life, liberty, and property were not to be taken away without a day in court, in the presence of responsible authorities acting under the obligations of equal laws.

The second security afforded was a frame of government in which public powers were so distributed that no public officer could commit an act of oppression without rendering himself responsible for his action. The people, through their representatives, could make new laws; but they could make no laws which encroached upon the rights already sacredly guarded by the fundamental law. The executive, when necessary, could act; but only according to law. The judiciary could judge if the law was respected, but only in accordance with those personal securities which the fundamental law provided.

Finally, the people, standing in the place of the sovereign,

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and exercising sovereign power, did what no other sovereign had ever before voluntarily done in the history of the world: they freely and formally renounced the power to impose their personal arbitrary will upon the organs of government or upon one another. They confided to the operation of the system they had devised and created the legislative, executive, and judicial functions necessary to the application of justice, subject to their approval or reprobation by means already provided for in that system.

Thus absolutism in every form was intended to be extruded from government; which aimed to be a system of just laws and principles in place of mere arbitrary will actuated by caprice, prejudice, malignity, or self-interest.

It is easy to see how this system could be covertly attacked by those who, consciously or unconsciously, were inspired by motives for subverting it.

The first method of attack is through the hasty alteration of the fundamental law itself. Believing in the approximate perfection of our system, the people of the United States have, in general, desired to maintain the stability of the Constitution; and, so far, it has been subjected to very little change. Being essentially a restriction of arbitrary power, it presents a barrier to the aims of those who seek to derive private advantage through the control of the State. As long as it remains intact, there exists a legal obstacle to depredation. No mere demagogue ever has loved, or ever will love, the Constitution; for it is a restraint upon personal ambition and personal interests. He would much prefer to substitute for it the unrestrained "will of the people," by which he understands assent to his own proposals. With seductive simplicity he blandly asks, "What is the Constitution between friends?"

Undoubtedly, any inflexible obstacle to a transitory popular impulse can at times be made to appear too rigid, but it is precisely this clear and definite obstruction to impulsive and ill-considered action which constitutional guarantees are intended to impose. It is always a dangerous moment for the liberties of a people when it is proposed to substitute for the deliberately established reasonableness of a constitutional provision the impromptu and uncontrolled impulses of the moment; or to open the way without serious reflection and debate for mere political experiments.

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Two constitutional changes have been recently urged and passively accepted. The election of United States Senators by legislative bodies has sometimes been attended with corruption, and this has led to a demand for popular nominations and elections. In order to lower import duties, an income tax,—hitherto left to the several States, which can levy no import taxes,—has been urged as a means of supporting the Federal Government. To accomplish this, a constitutional change was necessary, since an unequal tax was prohibited, and an equal tax was not deemed practicable. It is, perhaps, too early to demonstrate the results of these changes; but it remains to be seen how the people, if they cannot succeed in choosing trustworthy legislators from among their own immediate neighbors, will be able to select worthier senators from among persons whom they know only by reputation; nor is it certain that the power to impose a Federal income tax without any kind of restriction may not eventually become the instrument of mere class and sectional legislation. It will be gratifying if these experiments result in an elevation of political morals, or in greater social equity; but it is not yet certain that these results will follow.

A second point of attack upon the Constitution is through the encroachment of one or more of the three divisions of public power upon the legitimate domain of the others. The American conception of government has always laid stress upon the balance of the public powers, which is intended to limit the excesses of all. When, however, we consider the possible effect of the power concentrated in one man both to urge and to veto new laws, backed with the enormous influence of Federal patronage, the employment of which may be so easily concealed behind the mask of apparently beneficent legislation, we contemplate the nearest approach to absolute power now to be found in any constitutional government in the world. In defense of this centralization of authority it may be said that a President of the United States is responsible to the country, and particularly to his party, for the fulfilment of promises made in the platform of the party that elected him, and this is true; but executive urgency and executive prohibition have not always been exercised exclusively with the purpose of fulfilling party promises, but sometimes merely upon the personal initiative of the executive himself, who has thereby

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assumed the exercise of a prerogative which, however pleasing it may be to those who profit by its results, when considered from a constitutional point of view, is certainly of doubtful propriety, if not of doubtful legality. Fidelity in urging the fulfilment of previously made party promises and personal *ballons d'essai* sent up for the purpose of securing the favor of the majority, without regard to the previously determined policies of the party, are two entirely different methods of official procedure. The business of a President is to execute the laws and urge the fulfilment of party pledges, but it is not his prerogative to revolutionize the government.

But encroachments upon constitutional limitations by the executive are not more dangerous than those of a legislative origin. For these there is always the plausible excuse that they spring more directly from the expressed will of the people, since the legislators have received a recent mandate from them. It is, however, a perversion of reasoning to maintain that their mandate includes an instruction to disregard the spirit of the Constitution, or to strain it to the breaking-point. It is, therefore, essential that the judiciary be free, pure, and faithful in its interpretation of the fundamental law. It is equally important that it should have the confidence and support of the people. Nothing could so fatally affect the foundations of Constitutional Government as a loss of confidence on the part of the people in the purity, fidelity, and intelligence of the judiciary. By every means that will leave it free and responsible it should be placed and kept upon the highest plane of honor and authority, for it is by its essential nature the guardian of our guarantees of liberty.

There is a third, and a far more insidious, form of attack upon Constitutional Government which should not escape observation. It is the disposition to withdraw and annul that act of popular renunciation of each in the interest of all upon which the success of Constitutional Government is based. It is important that this point should be made clear, for it contains the chief justification for speaking of a " crisis " in constitutionalism.

Attention has been called to the fact that the third step in the development of the Constitution of the United States was the voluntary surrender of arbitrary power by the sovereign people. This was not an abdication of power by the

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people as a whole in the interest of a majority, but a determination that absolutism in every form should be abolished altogether. It was the surrender of will to reason, of private interest to the public good, of the individual to the State as the institution of organized justice.

The greatest present danger to Constitutional Government is the revocation of this splendid sacrifice of personal advantage to the common well-being; the agreement of the people not to attempt an act of conquest upon one another, but to live on terms of equality under just laws.

It is worthy of observation that wherever this act of patriotism has been refused Constitutional Government has proved an abject failure. If we consider the revolutions that have stained with blood and ruined the economic life of several of our sister Republics on this continent, we shall find ample and striking illustrations of this assertion. They, like ourselves, have had a fundamental law, often expressed in most irreproachable language, and a frame of government in which the division of powers is theoretically accepted. In fact, however, these elements of constitutional organization have not been treated as realities. Personal ambition, conspiracy, and revolution have defied the system, and frequently destroyed it. Instead of devoting themselves to the State, and making a religion of vital patriotism,—that is, of consecration to the State as the institution of order and justice,—these unfortunate brethren have attached themselves to factions, each seeking to dominate by force the others, and thus creating a scene of constant incertitude, turmoil, lawlessness, and rapine.

We have at the present moment a startling example of this assertion of arbitrary will and repudiation of public authority in our nearest neighbor to the south. Every one who personally knows the Mexican statesmen of the highest type appreciates their learning, their culture, and their sometimes great executive ability. What is lacking to that country? It is the spirit of personal renunciation of arbitrary power in the interest of the public well-being. Rich in natural resources, situated in a most favorable geographical environment, and not wanting in capable men, Mexico is doomed to stagnation, poverty, and discredit, because it is the prey of rival forces within the State, each claiming the right to rule, each determined to destroy the others.

Let us not lose the lesson of this impressive illustration

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of the unwillingness of men to accept the authority of principles because we ourselves are not at present harassed by banditti and visibly divided by opposing powers within the State. It is opportune for us to ask ourselves, why we are not subjected to this anarchy, and why we enjoy a high degree of peace, order, and justice in our own Republic, which is based on the same fundamental ideas as that of our unfortunate neighbors?

The answer to this question is evident to every thoughtful observer. We have, thus far, been able to maintain respect for our Constitution and our judiciary. We have, in the interest of the public peace, renounced the primitive right of personal self-defense. We have differences, but we endeavor, for the most part, to settle them by an appeal to the law and to the courts. We have, thus far, maintained the renunciation of arbitrary power, which has made our government a success where others have failed; and we have had, and are having, our reward.

Will this condition always continue? There is more than one sign that it will not, unless we are on our guard. The dangers arising from the first and second forms of attack on Constitutional Government are not unworthy of attention, but they are insignificant in comparison with the third; for further alterations cannot be made in the Constitution without fresh consideration by the people, and a misuse of power by the legislative and executive, or even by the judicial authorities, is at least subject to correction. But the third form of attack is of a different nature. It results from a social transformation that may affect constitutionalism at its source by perverting the minds of the people.

For a long time the chief danger to constitutionalism in our country was the menace of conflict between the States. That peril seems now to have passed, for their interests are so nearly identical and their populations are so homogeneous that a divergence of purposes sufficiently wide to lead to armed conflict is altogether improbable.

But there is another source of antagonism which would have an equally disastrous effect upon Constitutional Government, the possibility of which is not entirely excluded from consideration.

We have in recent years developed in the United States a spirit of class antagonism which is peculiarly disquieting. In stating this point it is not at all necessary to cast the

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blame on any particular stratum of society, and a careful analysis might distribute responsibility in a manner that would not be welcome in quite opposite quarters. The one undeniable fact is that this antagonism exists, and that it has been stimulated by political ambitions that have found their advantage in creating unrest and in deepening the hostility of certain conditions of life toward others.

The peril of this situation is that it does not consist merely in opposing personal sentiments entertained by isolated individuals, but that it aims to control the State by massing its forces in powerful organizations, with the purpose of changing the laws, and even the Constitution, in the interest of special classes.

Books have recently been written with the endeavor to make it appear that the Constitution of the United States is a belated eighteenth-century construction, devised in the interest of a property-possessing class, and at present an anachronism. For the first time since it was adopted the Constitution has within very recent years been treated with open disrespect. What is the reason for this opposition? It is that the Constitution presents an obvious barrier to the designs of those who oppose it. If we seek the actuating principle of this opposition, we find it in the doctrine that the unregulated will of the majority is a more desirable form of authority than deliberately accepted principles of government sanctioned by general assent and tried and tested by experience.

Should this tendency become further accentuated by combinations of power able eventually to control the State in their own interest,—we should find ourselves in a position not dissimilar from that in which Mexico is placed to-day,—divided into hostile factions, one class plundered by another, and the country utterly powerless to defend its interests or maintain its dignity in the field of international relations.

The means of preventing this calamity,—or the remedy for it, if it is already in some degree upon us,—is evidently a determination on the part of the people that arbitrary power in every form must be renounced; that life, liberty, and property shall still enjoy protection against any form of absolutism that may be asserted within the State.

To apply this remedy, the country needs two things. First, to consider seriously the drift of the social forces

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now operating among us, with a view to forming a clear conception of the degree in which we are adhering to or departing from the spirit of conformity to just and equal laws; and, second, an active movement on the part of thoughtful citizens to arrest an anti-constitutional tendency.

In considering the drift of the social forces now in operation, one is struck by the diminished respect for law simply because it *is* law. This is, no doubt, in part owing to the changed conception of the source of legal authority. When men sincerely believed in "inalienable rights," and conceived of law as the guardian of those rights, it was esteemed worthy of a sentiment of reverence. At present the importation of a conception of law as the decree of a dominating will, without relation to fundamental rights,—which are alleged to have no demonstrable existence,—has made it difficult to respect law in and for itself. If, after all, it is merely arbitrary; if it proceeds from no moral principle; if, in short, it is the expression of mere *will,* and not of *reason*—it is difficult, it is even unreasonable, to demand that it be respected.

It is necessary in the life of every nation that from time to time it be called upon to reflect upon the principles that underlie its existence. The present generation has been confronted with no great national crisis that has called for such reflection. The shock that has been given to the party-system of government in the United States may prove to be such a crisis. We have suddenly been brought face to face with the question, "What is our political future to be?" It is for the reason and the conscience of the people to answer, but it remains to be determined on what lines the answer is to be given.

Naturally, in moments of indecision, men look for leaders; but, unless they look also for principles, they look in vain. The choice must be made between experience and experiment; between arbitrary decisions and fundamental principles; in a word, between political anarchy and Constitutional Government.

The one thing most certain is that, if we are to preserve and justify Constitutional Government, we must be ever ready to defend it. If we are to defend it, we who believe in it must act together. To many minds it seems at this moment, the one overmastering issue. When principles have been settled, men have always been found to render

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them effective. What we need at present is not so much leaders as a statement of the principles by which we should be led, and which we should then insist upon having applied in practice. In seeking for these we cannot do better than to revert to the great doctrines of our fathers, which, in the midst of revolutions on every side, have brought us to great power as a nation; and which, if faithfully applied, will continue to give us great prosperity as a people.

If from the dissolution of party ties, which has brought home to us the problem of our political future, we are able to rally about the one rock of salvation, the rights of the individual citizen as guaranteed by the Constitution, the atmosphere will clear. We shall see that a State cannot be built upon private interests of any kind, and that our prosperity as a Republic consists in the readiness to renounce the control of the State for our own advantage, by giving to each individual not only full liberty to exercise and develop all his powers in his own way, but protection in preserving that liberty by preventing the public powers from falling under the domination of any class or combination of men having for its object the subjection of others to their private will.

In the days of our Civil War much aid was afforded to the cause of preserving the Union by the formation of clubs composed of citizens who perceived in that movement the great issue of the hour. It is possible that the time has come when a similar interest in the preservation of Constitutional Government, through the cultivation of respect for the spirit of the Constitution, may be desirable and even necessary.

Such a movement would, undoubtedly, be stoutly opposed; but the intensity of the opposition and the comments that would attend it would, perhaps, furnish surprising proofs that we are at present passing through a crisis of constitutionalism in which the great structure of liberty and justice erected by our fathers is being insidiously undermined, not in the interest of the people, of whose rights it is the only guarantee, but in the interest of private powers within the State which, for purposes of their own, wish to dominate it and employ it as the instrument of their designs.

David Jayne Hill.

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A NEW BASIS NEEDED FOR THE MONROE DOCTRINE

BY GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE

A SINCERE and cordial friendship between the United States and the other American Republics is a relation earnestly desired by our statesmen. A bond commonly supposed to unite these sister States to our own already exists in the Monroe Doctrine, but grave doubt has arisen whether, in all parts of the hemisphere, this is now accomplishing the objects for which it was established. Certainly observers of conditions in South America believe that, in considering its usefulness, a sharp distinction should be made between the strong, stable nations of that continent and the revolution-tossed lands immediately south of us. They are convinced that our country should clearly understand the interpretation given this policy by South America, and should seriously consider whether, south of the equator, it is of any benefit to either the United States or the region protected by it, whether it promotes confidence and friendship, or arouses resentment and suspicion.

"We don't want any Papa," was the reply of a prominent Chilean when asked for the attitude of South America toward the Monroe Doctrine. This well expresses the feeling of the continent as a whole. The people believe that it makes Uncle Sam a stepfather over their Republics, who not only guards them from Europe, but watches their important acts and often tells them what they may and may not do; and this interference is universally resented.

The editor of the leading newspaper in Chile, Dr. Perez Canto, who is also an experienced diplomat, holds the same idea. "The Monroe Doctrine," he writes, "implies a moral subordination to the United States which is repulsive to the national feelings of the young Republics." A professor of one of the prominent universities said, in conver-

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sation with the writer, that the Monroe Doctrine was generally interpreted by South Americans to imply a guardianship over their continent by the United States; he believed himself that it established the relation of elder brother, but, he added, if the elder brother keeps telling the younger what he must do, it naturally makes bad feeling between them. A member of the Peruvian Foreign Office remarked the past summer that the United States had better forget the Monroe Doctrine and treat the South American countries as equals; this would do most to make the relations between the two sections cordial. That people in Brazil resent the Monroe Doctrine as an insult is the testimony of a person closely connected with the Diplomatic Corps in that country:

> It is the same as telling South America that it is not able to take care of itself. It is like a house-owner who comes to the home of another and publicly announces that he will protect it against robbers. He does not even have the excuse of being a neighbor, and naturally receives the indignant reply from the man whom he wishes to defend, that he is abundantly able to look out for his own property himself.

Only a few weeks ago the Valparaiso *Dia* asked, "Why does the United States arrogate the power of exercising tutelage over those countries whose inhabitants speak the Castilian tongue in the continent of South America?"

Such quotations as these are typical of the general feeling of the people.

But still more unfortunate is the conviction of many that the Monroe Doctrine threatens eventual conquest of their continent by the United States. That this view is widely held was stated again and again, in frank, confidential conversations with the writer, by representative men of the several Republics. A number of them added that the expression, "America for the Americans," which is supposed to paraphrase the Monroe Doctrine, is believed by a large proportion of the people of South America to mean "America for the United States." "Sixty per cent. of our educated people," said a Brazilian who knows North America well, "distrust the United States, and believe that the Monroe Doctrine is simply pre-empting territory which the United States wants, until it is fully ready to seize it." "The idea of the mass of the people," declared a leading civil engineer and university professor, "is that the United States will eventually try to conquer South America."

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The head of one of the largest business houses stated that the Monroe Doctrine was popularly regarded as an evidence of the desire of the United States to annex all of the Southern continent, especially the weak countries on the West Coast. A former member of the Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hon. A. Alvarez, wrote in 1910 that the Monroe Doctrine "is considered, upon occasions, to be a menace to the integrity and sovereignty of certain republics of this hemisphere." In Garcia-Calderon's recent and widely read work on Latin America this point of view is strikingly expressed; "The Monroe Doctrine," he says, "has undergone an essential transformation; it has passed successively from the defensive to intervention and thence to the offensive. . . . The United States seek to conquer new territories for their imperialist race." In both the press and public addresses it is common to find exhortations to the South American Republics urging them to unite against the growing danger of conquest from the North.

This fear that the Monroe Doctrine endangers their independence is held by a large proportion of the common people and by some individuals, although far from a majority, of the educated and governing set. Resentment against its spirit of patronage, however, is general in all classes; it exists in every one of the South American Republics, yet it varies in its intensity, probably being least noticeable in Brazil, and strongest in Chile. One should visit the latter country and attempt to discuss the Monroe Doctrine to appreciate how keenly the resentment is felt even among those most friendly to the United States. Men will avoid the subject; they will waive it aside as a disagreeable topic with the remark, "We trust that is a thing of the past"; or, when they express their real feelings, they speak as if they were discussing a painful, personal humiliation.

The question naturally arises, why do these South American people continually attack the Monroe Doctrine instead of expressing at least some degree of gratitude for the present protection which it gives them against the military powers of Europe? The answer is that they do not fear Europe, actively and consciously, but do fear the United States and each other. It guards them against a distant danger, but not against dangers which they keenly apprehend. For example, Peru, Bolivia, Uruguay and Paraguay would give a great deal for a Monroe Doctrine which would

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protect them from their stronger neighbors, Argentine, Chile and Brazil. Probably a majority of the South American States would appreciate a doctrine which would guarantee them from conquest by the United States; but it is too much to ask that they shall be enthusiastically thankful for a policy which benefited them a half-century ago, when today it is an affliction.

For the part played by the original Monroe Doctrine, in saving their continent in all probability from European conquest, the candid, thoughtful people are reasonably grateful. It should be remembered that all of the South American Republics indorsed it in the early decades after its announcement. In the last Pan American Congress, held in Buenos Aires in 1910, the South American delegations were willing to unite in a resolution which should express their appreciation of the protection which it has afforded them, and which should be sent to the Washington Government at the time of the celebration of the centennial of the independence of the South American Republics. It was impossible, however, to so phrase this resolution that it would indorse the original meaning of the Doctrine, and yet exclude the more recent interpretation by which they believe the United States arrogates the hegemony over the hemisphere.

If we are tempted to say that the South Americans have created an imaginary Monroe Doctrine, when they state that it proclaims a general suzerainty over them, if not an eventual conquest of their territory, we must at least acknowledge that they have reasons for this conviction. Our newspapers are continually giving it most fantastic interpretations. One morning this past summer many of them had large head-lines stating that Great Britain was to fortify the Bermuda Islands, which would very likely, they declared, be regarded by our Government as a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. If the fortification of its own American possessions by any nation is a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, then there is absolutely no limit to the suzerainty of the United States in North and South America.

The most recent text on International Law published in this country, when treating of our international policy, says, "A political primacy, similar in kind (to that exercised by the European Concert of Powers) though of a less positive character, is wielded by the United States on the American continent."

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The calm assertion of guardianship over this hemisphere is seen by the South Americans not only in our newspapers and books, but even in the most official documents. It was Secretary of State Olney who wrote: "To-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." Surely South America needs no stronger evidence than this to prove the arrogance of the Monroe Doctrine.

The danger of conquest which it implies is inferred from a study of our United States history. It is a far cry to the Mexican War, but the educated men of South America know the character of it—about as cold-blooded a piece of conquest as modern history records—and frequently refer to it as a warning. They point out that this was followed in due season by the Spanish War, with its additional conquests and its Cuban protectorate; later, Panama was seized; and in our own time a constant intervention has been taking place in Central American affairs, especially in Nicaragua; while the independence of Mexico is threatened, and its virtual absorption frequently discussed in our press.

The Monroe Doctrine, as thus understood, by fostering resentment and suspicion, instead of friendship and confidence, is not only standing in the way of the development of a genuine Pan American spirit, the creation of which is probably the foremost aim of our Government's foreign policy, but is also preparing the South American Republics to unite against us, instead of with us. If the United States had intervened in Mexico this past year it would, at that time at least, have aroused intense opposition in some circles in South America. A Venezuelan said a few weeks ago, that if the United States should cross the Rio Grande, the Latin American countries would all wish to unite in Mexico's defense. This was clearly an exaggeration, but it shows where a real danger lies. The South Americans would resent intervention in Mexico principally because it would be carrying out this idea of continental suzerainty, which the United States might later apply to the countries farther south.

The so-called A. B. C. League (Argentine, Brazil and Chile) is an example of what might easily become a South American alliance against the United States. For the last three years the newspapers of the Southern Republics have been full of discussions regarding this League. There are

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those in South America to-day who believe that some secret understanding exists between these three Powers and that its main purpose is for mutual protection against encroachments from the United States. This interpretation of the supposed A. B. C. League is undoubtedly incorrect, yet it shows clearly what might easily happen should our Government take any action in South America which seemed like an international intrusion.

It should be remembered that these three leading countries south of the equator, Argentine, Brazil and Chile, have a population of more than thirty million; have cities of over a million inhabitants each, which are more beautiful and probably better administered than those in the United States; and immense stretches of fertile land, in Argentine and southern Brazil, which are being rapidly filled up by a large European immigration. Two or three decades from now, when the population of Argentine and Brazil is doubled or trebled; when their military power is more efficiently organized and their navies increased—Argentine has now the two largest Dreadnoughts in the world—the United States will clearly be unable to enforce any continental suzerainty within their borders. It will be powerless to oppose an alliance between such a European Power as Germany and the A. B. C. League.

Many foreign students of international politics state definitely that before many years our country must give up the Monroe Doctrine so far as concerns the leading South American countries. In Elliot's recent *History of Chile,* we read:

> In a few years' time the pretensions of the States to a sort of suzerainty of South America, according to the doctrine of Monroe, will be regarded with a certain amount of amusement in both Chile and the Argentine.

Oppenheim, an English International Law authority, says of the Monroe Doctrine:

> This policy hampers the South American States, but with their growing strength it will gradually disappear. For, whenever some of these States become great Powers themselves, they will no longer submit to the political hegemony of the United States, and the Monroe Doctrine will have played its part.

That it harms the United States, as it is interpreted at present, is the nearly unanimous testimony of both North and South Americans with whom the writer discussed the

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subject during a recent trip through the leading countries below the equator. But to the question what should be done to correct this false impression, so far as it is false, and, in any case, to create cordiality and confidence between the strong Republics of South America and the United States, there were various opinions. Some said: "Stop talking about the Monroe Doctrine. If the occasion should ever come to enforce it, do so; but in the mean time say nothing about it. The great South American Republics wish to be treated as equals, as the States of Europe are treated, and do not like to be constantly spoken of as occupying any particular relation to the United States."

This is good advice, but impracticable. The Monroe Doctrine has long been regarded as the foundation of our foreign policy, and to request our press and our public men to stop talking about it would be a waste of time. There are, also, certain English and German papers in South America which, in any case, would not let the subject drop, but would seize upon any chance expression in the United States, as they are now doing, to arouse South Americans to resentment. Not long ago an English newspaper in Chile quoted a harmless reference in one of President Taft's messages, and gave it the prominent heading, "A Warning to South America." The day before the Boston Chamber of Commerce delegation visited Buenos Aires, the *Standard* of that city, in a leading editorial, stated that probably the ultimate purpose of the visit was to prepare for the eventual annexation of South America by the United States.

Others insist that the Monroe Doctrine should be withdrawn, so far as the strong States of South America are concerned. They admit that it must still be enforced in Mexico, Central America, the West Indies, and the northern coast countries of South America, on account of the nearness of these lands, the instability of their governments, and the necessity from a military standpoint of controlling the territory bordering the Caribbean Sea. But they maintain that whatever happens south of the equator does not affect the interests of the United States. Even should Germany seize a section of Southern Brazil, as some fear, and form it into a colony, this would be farther distant from every part of our country than Germany is itself at the present time. They claim further, that these strong South American States, Argentine, Brazil and Chile, are now

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clearly beyond the tutelage stage; are in no apparent danger from European invasion; and even in case of attempted conquest would be able to protect themselves. To carry out this policy of withdrawal, some of them suggest that a Resolution be passed by Congress, stating that South America, with the exceptions just mentioned, no longer needs the protection of the Monroe Doctrine, but promising that if any of its Republics should ever be in national peril the United States could be relied upon as a real friend.

There are those, on the other hand, who believe that the best solution of the problem is a careful and official definition of the Doctrine, which would take out of it the sting of United States suzerainty. They recommend that either the President or Congress should issue a formal statement declaring that this policy of the United States warrants intervention only when absolutely necessary to prevent seizure of land on the continent by a non-American power; and, further, possibly, pledging the United States not to acquire any territory itself in South America.

Each of these courses has much to recommend it, but either would be extremely difficult to bring about. The American people regard the Monroe Doctrine as a national fetish, without any serious consideration, for the most part, of the bases upon which it rests to-day; and would undoubtedly prevent its withdrawal or serious modification. Again, there are many well-informed men who are convinced that the Monroe Doctrine is still needed in South America, that withdrawal of it would probably lead to the seizure of Southern Brazil by Germany, which would violate the interests of both the United States and South America by establishing a powerful military base in this hemisphere. In justification of this view it may be stated that some of the influential men of Brazil definitely fear this German occupation of the southern part of their Republic.

A further and final possibility lies in broadening and strengthening the present Monroe Doctrine by associating in its enforcement the States of the American continent, perhaps all of them, but at least those countries of South America which have strong, well-organized governments, such as Argentine, Chile and Brazil. This course was suggested many times both by United States residents in South America and by citizens of the various Southern Republics. Probably its foremost advocate is Dr. Oliveira Lima, so long the

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Brazilian Ambassador at Washington. An admirer and firm friend of our country, he yet realizes keenly the hard feeling caused by the Monroe Doctrine in its present form. He pleads for "the equal assumption by all nations of the American continent of the duties and responsibility of the Monroe Doctrine, thus depriving this international formula of its exclusive and arrogant character," and banishing from it "all idea of protection and subordination."

The Monroe Doctrine, upon a Pan American basis, would be stronger than it is at present, for it would be supported by the public opinion as well as by the armies and navies of the rapidly growing nations of South America. It would, too, do away with the suspicion and dislike with which the Doctrine is now regarded, for it would then be the decree, not of a superior power, but of America as a whole, to which every State—or at least every State with a strong, stable government—had given its voluntary assent.

This Monroe Doctrine would not merely guard South America from European conquest; it would also insist upon reasonably stable governments and aim to prevent conditions which would invite European intervention, much as the United States forestalled complications in San Domingo by taking charge of that country's finances. It would be advisable further to make this new Pan American doctrine a practical guarantee of immunity from territorial conquest from every side. Just this form of an international agreement is earnestly desired by many in South America in order to protect the weaker States from their stronger neighbors, and all of them from the United States.

That the South American Republics would all join in a Pan American Monroe Doctrine, cannot be stated with positiveness, but there are many indications which make it seem likely. They are as anxious as is the United States to prevent European conquest anywhere on the continent; they have all recently expressed their readiness to indorse the Monroe Doctrine in its original form; and they have shown a wide-spread feeling in favor of general Pan American arbitration. One of the members of the Congress of Argentine, for example, very recently stated to the writer that there should be a Pan American arbitration committee to settle all South American international disputes. Further, he added, in case of attempted conquest, such as that of Bolivia by its more powerful neighbors, he would favor an

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agreement between Argentine, the United States and Brazil to prevent it.

The Monroe Doctrine, based upon Pan America, would be much easier to enforce than is the sole fiat of the United States. This has already been demonstrated. Two years ago the United States, Argentine and Brazil united to prevent war on the West Coast, when it seemed ready to break out between Peru, on the one hand, and Ecuador, possibly aided by Chile, on the other. This joint intervention, for the three Powers really issued a command, was effective without resort to force and without arousing any general opposition. Such action by the United States alone would undoubtedly have raised a storm of protest.

This instance, as well as the earlier joint action of this country and Mexico—when the latter had a stable government—in keeping order in Central America, shows that the United States has already made a beginning of working in unison with Latin American States in enforcing the police power of the continent. It only remains to extend this occasional co-operation into a definitely formulated and generally accepted policy.

The new Monroe Doctrine would accomplish everything that the present Doctrine accomplishes, and much more. It would create a genuine Pan Americanism. At present there is nothing which consciously and sympathetically joins the United States and all Latin America and makes them a unit as against Europe. One of the most influential statesmen of Argentine says: "There is no Pan Americanism in South America; it exists only in Washington." This is largely true; the most striking fact about South America is that it resembles Europe rather than the United States. In language, culture, finance, commerce and sympathy it is more closely bound to Europe than to our own country; while we, on our part, are more closely bound to Europe in each of these respects than to South America. We cannot maintain, either, that as sister Republics of this hemisphere we are linked together by the common bond of democratic government, as opposed to the autocratic nations of monarchical Europe. This may have been true a century ago; it is not true to-day. Europe, as a whole, is more democratic than South America; while no single South American State approaches the real democracy of such countries as England and Switzerland.

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There is, however, one possible strong bond. While Europe to-day is organized on the basis of aggressive war, Latin America and the United States are both organized primarily on the basis of peace. They have their armies and navies, to be sure, but these do not sap the strength of the continent, nor absorb the energies of the people, as in Europe. This likeness in national organization and ideal is the foundation upon which a genuine Pan Americanism may be built, one which will unite North and South America by both interest and sympathy. But the Monroe Doctrine in its present form will not do this; it will not check the tendency of the stronger States to enter upon a policy of military and naval expansion, for it gives them no protection against their neighbors and it presents the United States as a possible and dangerous enemy. Only by placing the Monroe Doctrine upon a Pan American basis will it guarantee each of the countries against conquest not only from Europe, but from the United States, and also, it is to be hoped, from its neighbors.

The power to execute this international agreement would be the united military strength of the continent, which need not exceed the present military and naval equipment of each country. This would be a sufficient police force to insist upon stable governments in any of the weak Latin American States which might be regarded as under the surveillance of the continent as a whole.

If all this can be accomplished; if the Monroe Doctrine can be broadened and strengthened; if, in consequence, South America, as it rapidly increases in population, riches, and power, can be saved from becoming a fortified camp, each of its frontiers bristling with bayonets, each of its governments spending its best energy in watching the military preparations of its neighbors, each of its peoples putting its increased wealth year after year into ever larger armies and ever new forms of rifle and cannon; if it can be saved from this curse of Europe and be allowed to grow great along lines of peace and industry; if in this respect America can be united against the policy of Europe—the result will not only be to the lasting benefit of both the United States and South America; it will be the most notable achievement of the new world.

George H. Blakeslee.

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IF GOLD WERE DROSS

BY CHARLES A. CONANT

THE interesting problem was raised by one of the French reviews recently, what would happen if gold were produced in such enormous quantities as to sink in value to the level of the baser metals.[1] The three contingencies discussed were the extraction of gold from sea water, which was dismissed as too expensive to be attainable; the increase from existing mines, which would be negligible from the sensational standpoint of the argument; and the probability of the production of gold by chemical means.

It was the third means of production which was treated as seriously as the nature of the subject permitted, and it was declared that in relying upon the recent progress of experimental physics and of chemical synthesis, the possibility of the transmutation of the metals could no longer be considered a simple chimera and might become a reality of to-morrow or the day after to-morrow. Edison, it was declared, believes the manufacture of gold to be imminent and the most distinguished physicists recognize the transmutation of matter. Since 1860, it was pointed out, many of the most important vegetable and natural products have been reproduced by the processes of organic chemistry—alcohol, alkalies, aldehydes, ether, many substitutes for indigo and other aniline colors, and even chemical albumen. There have been recently two or three patents taken out for the manufacture of gold and a rumor has been in circulation that the French Ministry of Finance was engaged in the serious study of a proposition which had been submitted on the subject.

The author of this engaging dream, M. Jean Finot, does

[1] "*Le Monde Sans l'Or*," *La Revue*, September 15, 1912.

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not pretend to assert, as an established fact, that any of these experiments will be successful, but raises the question what would be the effect if they should prove successful in time to come. What, he asks, would then be the situation of society in general and of the property classes in particular? If the value of gold, the unique basis of the economic stability of our time, should be suddenly subjected to so striking a fluctuation, what would be the position of states and individuals, whose fortune is ordinarily symbolic, because it represents only a fixed quantity of gold to be demanded or received? Suppose a man has his entire fortune in mortgages or government bonds and that he has the right to demand his holdings in gold; this metal having lost its intrinsic value, will not his creditors be able to release themselves to his prejudice, even involving his complete ruin, while paying him the exact amount called for by the debt in gold?

That governments would take certain precautions against such a catastrophe is frankly admitted, but the further question is raised, what standard could they find to take the place of gold—whether, if they sought it in some other metal, the secret of the transmutation of metals having once been discovered, there would be any of them which would offer adequate security against similar debasement?

The more extreme and fantastic results of such a flood of gold have been occasionally the subject of romance. On the serious side of the problem, it may be said, however, that measures of defense would undoubtedly be found to mitigate its suddenness and severity. Counsels of conservatism exist even among the eight economists and six chemists and *littérateurs* who furnish brief answers to the question what would happen to civilized society in case of the discovery of transmutation at small cost. Madame Curie, the only woman who is honored with a part in the symposium, curtly dismisses the question with the following declaration:

> While it is true that *spontaneous* atomic transformations have been observed in radioactive bodies (the production of helium by these bodies, which you mention and which is perfectly correct), we may, on the other hand, be sure that no transformation of a simple body has yet been obtained by the effort of man and through measures conceived by him. It is therefore entirely useless at present to consider the possible consequences of the manufacture of gold.

A higher degree of sanity, if less imagination, may be

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ascribed perhaps to the feminine participant in this discussion than to the members of the other sex, who give more or less free rein to their imaginations in dealing with the effects of a golden flood. By the eight economists the question is, of course, discussed with pretty close adherence to sound monetary principles. It is interesting to note, however, that all the progress of the past century in monetary science has not yet stilled differences of opinion, or at least differences of definition, on the character and effects of money. We find it treated by some as a mere symbol, for which it might be possible to substitute a new standard based upon the value of other articles or upon the purchasing power of a day's labor, while by others the small amount of gold actually used as currency, in comparison with the operations of the banks and the clearing-houses, is cited as evidence that the destruction of the basic metal would not have immediate and striking effects. Of the former type of criticism is the suggestion of Professor George Renard of the *Collège de France,* "to give legal-tender quality to a universal paper money, which should be identical from one end of the earth to the other."

The defect of solutions of the monetary problem based upon the substitution for gold of conventional values,—like the bushel of wheat or the day's labor,—is that they fail to take account that the value of money and of all transactions expressed in money must be based upon either recognized value in the standard metal or upon limitation of quantity.[1] It is sometimes said by economists who have given more attention to theory than to economic history that the function of gold as the standard of value is a purely conventional function,—that if gold were demonetized throughout the world, this value would be lost. While it is undoubtedly true that demonetization would have a depressing effect upon the value of the metal, it would not by any means destroy its attractiveness as a store of value. One of the best evidences of this is the eagerness with which gold is sought in undeveloped countries, which have neither a gold standard nor a gold circulation. The fact that the

[1] For most practical purposes, the words "intrinsic value" might be substituted for "recognized value"; but it is, of course, a well-established principle of economics that value is relative rather than intrinsic. The reasons why gold possesses a relative value of unusual stability are set forth in a measure in the text.

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adoption of gold as a standard is not the result of convention, but of evolution, is evidenced also by its universality as a standard as well as by its inherent qualities.[1] Its special suitability for money gold derives from its universal exchangeability; every one is ready to take gold for other articles, where he hesitates and dickers over taking other articles for gold. And this exchangeability is inherent rather than arbitrary.

The high qualification of gold for use as money is based upon the reasons set forth in the text-books,—uniformity of quality, indestructibility, and divisibility without loss. What adds to the suitability of gold as a standard of value is the permanence of the existing stock. If gold were like wheat, nearly the entire crop being consumed or falling into decay within a year, it would be an exceedingly unstable standard of value, because the quantity produced in one year might fall enormously below the quantity produced in a previous year. But with gold, the annual production, whether great or small, is superimposed upon the stock already in existence, the product of more than four centuries of output from the mines of the world. Hence, even the great additions of recent years, rising to more than $450,000,000 per year, or nearly four times the annual production of twenty-five years ago, can do no more than alter slightly the increment of increase in the stock of standard money from year to year.

If, therefore, a substitute for gold is to be found in any existing physical substance, or any which can be fabricated, the new material must have similar qualities in order to possess similar qualifications—indestructibility, divisibility, and permanence of the pre-existing stock. It would also be highly important that it should have the further quality which gold possesses, of ready flow from the reservoir of the money stock into the reservoir of industrial use. It is in this channel of broadened industrial use that much of the increased gold production of the past twenty years has been absorbed, and it is along similar lines that some of the participants in the French symposium indicate that the metal would be absorbed even if it fell greatly in exchange value. As pointed out by M. Eugene Fournière, it would be

[1] This subject is discussed in the chapter entitled "Evolution of the Gold Standard" in the author's *The Principles of Money and Banking*.

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possible to enormously increase the industrial uses of a metal which is now sought largely for its rarity—to bring down the price of gold watch-cases to those of nickel, to enable dentistry to supply gold fillings to the poorest and the masses to drink their modest wines from cups of crystal. The fact that gold does not oxidize and tarnish would develop its substitution for silver and other metals over a wide field, if its relative value were once pulled down to the plebeian level suggested in the symposium. Even the substitution of solid gold in the manifold cases where gold plating is now used would absorb a large quantity of the metal, without entering upon the broad field of new uses.

The difficulty of establishing a monetary standard which is not based upon a physical substance of limited supply has not been clear, even to some elevated minds. The truth is, however, that no matter how limited the amount of gold which is transferred from one bank to another in clearing-house settlements, or even if the substitution of paper certificates reduces actual transfers of the yellow metal to a negligible quantity, it is nevertheless essential that there shall be a basis upon which value rests. The ratio of gold for which other articles exchange is the supreme test of the demand for such articles. It would be useless for a modern state, following the teachings of certain types of socialists, to declare that a pair of shoes of a given type should always be equal to twenty yards of cotton of a given type. Such a rule would abolish the test whether the supply of shoes was excessive or that of cotton was deficient. The test applied by gold is the decline in the gold price of the shoes if the supply becomes a dead weight on the hands of dealers; a rise in the gold price of cottons if the supply is rapidly disappearing at the official price.

The failure to provide a medium of exchange which thus affords a test of over-production is the fatal defect of the theory that a currency of pure paper, issued upon the basis of the value of one article or several, would afford a safe and workable currency. The combined supply of currency and credit acts in some degree as a measure of values within a single country; but if currency and credit become inflated within that country, the test of such inflation is afforded by the movement of the foreign exchanges. The balance of indebtedness between nations is measured by gold. The nation which finds itself unable to supply gold to settle its

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international balances (giving due recognition, of course, to the ability to distribute such obligations through foreign loans and other devices) wakes up to the fact that it has unduly expanded its internal, and has lost its international, credit. The substitution of conventional values and of paper money for gold does not afford adequate means, under existing monetary methods, of meeting the demands of international credit. In recent years, monetary science has made great strides in transferring and postponing indebtedness. It has learned the lesson that a local currency can be maintained on the gold basis, without the use of any considerable quantity of gold, if gold is available for settling international balances. This is the principle underlying the successful operation of the gold exchange standard in British India, Mexico, and the Philippines. Not greatly different in principle was the system by which Russia established a fixed exchange in 1894 before going resolutely to the gold standard. It is the principle also upon which Austria-Hungary is regulating her currency with a high degree of success.

All these experiments, however, rest ultimately upon gold. If gold became dross, it would be necessary, either to find a substitute metal possessing similar qualities, or to reorganize the existing monetary systems of the commercial nations. The latter is not beyond the reach of sane discussion and of definite proposals. Its essential defect would lie in the absence of power to enforce international agreements, in case financial weakness offered strong inducements for their violation.

The romantic dream of the sudden dethronement of gold from its place as the standard metal would be controlled, to begin with, by the cost of the processes of production of artificial gold. The mere discovery that gold could be produced by chemical processes would not solve the problem. Unless it could be produced in large quantities at a cost materially below the cost of quartz-mining in South Africa, the new process would remain only an interesting toy. Even if the production of artificial gold were considerably below the cost of mining, it would not cause a monetary revolution unless the difference in cost afforded profits large enough to stimulate a flood of the new metal. Under the continuance of the policy of accepting gold for free coinage at the mints, without regard to the method of its pro-

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duction, a large increase in coinage would tend to bring down the value of the entire volume of the gold currency, old and new. Every such decline in the purchasing power of gold would diminish the margin of profit between cost of production and the purchasing power of the product and would discourage excessive production, unless the cost of production of the artificial gold were so low as to make this margin of profit very wide. In this case, if the output of gold affected directly its exchange value by its continued acceptance at the mints for free coinage, the point would soon be reached where mining for natural gold would become unprofitable and the present producers of $470,000,000 per year from the mines would be driven from the field.

Before this point was reached, however, governments would undoubtedly step in. As pointed out by Professor Charles Gide, if the new process of fabrication was difficult and costly, and especially if it required elaborate machinery, the state would seize the monopoly of the fabrication and forbid it to all others. This it does to-day in regard to the coinage of silver and bronze. There would be no difficulty in producing silver coins as fine as those produced by the public mint, and at a profit of approximately 100 per cent., if those desiring to produce them were not subjected to the restraint of the law. It is this relentless pursuit of the secret-service agents which makes it difficult to contract for good machinery, to employ competent workmen, and set up plants in convenient and public places. These difficulties have been so great, in spite of the great profit involved, that the counterfeiting of silver coins occurs only in sporadic instances and on a small scale.

There would be nothing to prevent the adoption of a similar policy by the leading governments of the world in regard to the production of gold. In the matter of the tender of gold bullion to the mints, it would only be necessary to require proofs of the source of production, if the government had arrogated to itself the artificial production of bullion as well as the making of the coins. Bullion which could not be proved to come from the mines would be rejected at the mints and would find an outlet only in industrial uses. There would be nothing exceptionally difficult in imposing such requirements in advanced States, having adequate police organization, and in practically suppressing imports of bullion from States where the regulation of its

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manufacture was not adequately enforced; and, as Professor Gide points out, there would be an added stability in the monetary standard if governments were able thus to fix the annual output of the yellow metal for coinage purposes, instead of leaving it subject to changing conditions at the mines. This they might do by restricting to the new gold fabricated in their own workshops the supply of gold for coinage purposes or by merely supplementing the supply from the mines by such an amount of fabricated gold as would make the gross product converted into money uniform from year to year.

Unless the cost of manufacturing artificial gold fell radically below the cost of producing gold from the mines, no serious shock would be felt at first from the new production; and before it had been infused largely into the circulation, the more advanced governments would undoubtedly take adequate precautions against the debasement of the standard. Sane economists would be ready with a programme which would mitigate the immediate effects of the flood of gold and give ample time for consideration of its ultimate effects.

This programme would propose the immediate suspension of the free coinage of gold and would ask the leading commercial nations to enter into an international agreement to this effect. Incidental to this step would be the provision that coin only—and not bullion—should be permitted to constitute the metallic reserves of the banks. Both these measures—the suspension of free coinage and the suspension of bullion holdings in bank reserves—could be subjected to such mitigation or such delay as conditions seemed to justify. In this respect, the great Powers would have the precedents of the action of the Latin Union in first limiting, and then suspending, the free coinage of silver by the agreements of 1865 and later years. The effect of this policy would be to separate the money value of the gold coin from the value of its contents as bullion. This would result from the fact that the government had taken over the monopoly of creating gold coins instead of offering to put the stamp of a certain number of dollars, or francs, or pounds sterling, upon a certain weight of gold when brought to the mint by private holders.

The exchange value of money depends in part upon its quantity in relation to other things, and if increase in the

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quantity of the metal disks were suddenly cut off, then increase in the quantity of gold bullion would avail nothing to lower the exchange value of the coins. Gold coins would be in the same position as silver coins to-day, when government monopoly of the quantity issued keeps them at par with gold, though the value of their silver contents may be only 50 per cent. or even 35 per cent. of the gold value declared on their face.

That difficulties would ensue from relegating the standard coins to the position of tokens, and removing them from the influence of new gold production, must be frankly admitted. Such difficulties, however, would not be felt at once in acute form if the leading commercial nations were parties to the agreement to suspend free coinage and to require bank reserves to be constituted entirely of coin and not bullion. With the danger of collapse of values and the destruction of the standard thus averted for the moment, there would be time to consider further measures for increasing the quantity of gold in the coin without changing its legal purchasing power or for the adoption of some form of the multiple standard by international agreement.

This brings us to the subject of regulated or "managed" currencies—a large one upon which to enter here. It may be said, however, that monetary practice has already made long strides in this direction. The operation of the Ricardian theory, that the movement of gold is regulated by changes in the price level of commodities, comes directly into play only in periods of financial upheaval. Since the system of central banking became firmly established, it has been the changes in the charge for the rental of money, expressed through the discount rate, which have come to determine the movements of gold. But the discount rate usually reacts more effectively and quickly on prices of securities than on prices of commodities, and the shipment of securities, by shifting credit balances from one market to another, enables a country to retain the gold which otherwise would have to go out to settle such balances. The part played by commercial bills of exchange in such operations is so important that of late years large accumulations of such bills have been made by the central banks of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, and Belgium, purchased when they were cheap in order to afford a substitute for the shipment of gold when the exchanges became adverse. Thus, in

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the international field, the transfer of obligations has taken the place in a large degree of the transfer of gold; and the transfer of securities, the issue of new loans, and the sale of finance bills have afforded a means of offsetting unfavorable balances.

On this subject of "managed" currencies has grown up a whole body of literature within the past dozen years. Of such currencies, the most striking examples were afforded at first in the dependencies of advanced countries, when the gold exchange standard was set up, with many misgivings in official quarters, as better adapted to actual conditions than the full gold standard. British India, with a circulation chiefly in silver rupees, amounting to more than $600,000,000, is the most conspicuous instance, and she has been followed by the Philippine Islands, Mexico, Panama, and the Straits. Not alone, however, in the outlying parts of the world has the policy been adopted on a great scale of maintaining the value of money by regulation of its quantity and movements. In Austria-Hungary, parity of the local currency with gold has been maintained for several years by the central bank through operations in the exchange and bullion market. Professor Irving Fisher has proposed the extension of these methods by international agreement to the maintenance of a stable gold monetary unit in case the flood of gold from the mines continues to stimulate a rapid advance in commodity prices.[1] This danger has been for the moment averted or postponed by the comparatively uniform production of gold during the past five years and the cessation of the rapid increase in rate which marked the period from 1892 to 1908.

Along these lines of enlightened regulation, through national boards of experts and international agreements, would undoubtedly be found the means of escaping an economic cataclysm in case of a new flood of gold and of protecting the world against the fate of Midas, overwhelmed by the golden wealth which the touch of his finger created.

[1] One of the best discussions of the evolution of managed currencies is that of Professor Maurice Ansiaux, *Les Principes de la Politique Regulatrice de Change*: Brussels, 1910.

CHARLES A. CONANT.

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THE PRESIDENT AND THE SEGREGATION AT WASHINGTON

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

On October 16, 1912, Woodrow Wilson, then the Democratic nominee for President, declared that: "Should I become President of the United States, they [the colored people] may count upon me for absolute fair dealing and for everything by which I could assist in advancing the interests of their race in the United States." This utterance gave complete satisfaction to those leaders of the colored people and the friends of the race who were urging them to break away from their thraldom to the Republican party and to vote for the Governor of New Jersey on the ground that the country would profit most by the election of the Democratic ticket. For decades previous the colored people, through their blind fealty to the Republican party, had been its pawns, to be used or shoved aside as the case might be. The rôle the colored delegates from the Southern States played in the Republican National Conventions is familiar to everybody; they were exploited and voted in blocks by the bosses who permitted them to over-represent their Southern States. The venality of these colored delegates, real or alleged, is one of the familiar reproaches to the race, though the convention of 1912 showed that they resisted tremendous temptation to abandon Taft and go over to Roosevelt, who more than once had genuinely championed their interests.

Nevertheless, any effort to make the negroes realize that they hold the balance of power in several middle-Western States, and that in independence of either party lies their best political hope, had been largely unsuccessful until the candidacy of Woodrow Wilson. The task of rounding up the colored voters for him was assigned to Judge Robert S. Hudspeth, National Committeeman from New Jersey, the

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most conspicuous of the negro workers being Bishop Alexander Walters of New York. It was far from an easy one. Many of the colored men who flocked to Mr. Hudspeth's office were of the same stripe as those of the white race who crowded the other offices of the National Committee—seekers after jobs and seekers after immediate cash. To appeal to the thoughtful colored men was difficult enough; they were loath to break their historic ties with the Republican party, and if they did there was Roosevelt, still attractive, despite his decision that the Progressives should be a lily-white party. Moreover, the educated colored men knew that no colored student had been tolerated at Princeton while Woodrow Wilson was president, while the fact that he was of Southern birth and, if elected, was certain to be surrounded by Southern men, and that he had never expressed himself favorably to the colored people, made the thought of voting for him the more difficult. Nevertheless, the arguments of such colored men as Bishop Walters, and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the able editor of *The Crisis,* a magazine with the largest circulation ever obtained by a publication edited by a colored man, told, as did the promise of Woodrow Wilson cited above. Qualified observers believe that many more colored men voted the Democratic ticket in 1912 than ever before.

It was with dismay, therefore, that early in the Administration of Mr. Wilson, whose Cabinet is equally divided between Southerners and Northerners, there became noticeable in certain quarters a distinct hostility to the colored people. For a long time no appointments of negroes were made by the President. Then he nominated Adam E. Patterson of Oklahoma for the position of Register of the Treasury, a place long held by colored men. Patterson's nomination was the signal for outbursts from the most violent negrophobes in the Senate; Senators like Hoke Smith of Georgia, Vardaman of Mississippi, Tillman of South Carolina, and others, declaring that Patterson should not be confirmed, or any other colored man, for an office which would put him over white women clerks. With abject cowardice Patterson rushed to the White House and demanded that his name be withdrawn. Unwilling at this time to meet the issue thus raised, Mr. Wilson consented to his request, unlike Presidents Cleveland and Roosevelt, who, under similar circumstances, put the responsibility on the

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Senate by continuing to nominate the colored candidates for office and by giving them recess appointments when the Senate was not in session. Instead, Mr. Wilson appointed a Cherokee Indian as Register. Since then Dr. George A. Buckner of Indiana has, however, been appointed Minister to Liberia, this nomination being confirmed, September 10th.

When a group of citizens holds so few Federal offices as do the negroes, each one takes on a significance far beyond any question of the salary or powers that may be attached to it. This is particularly true of the posts of Minister to Hayti and San Domingo. Not one of the stock Southern objections to negro appointments holds here; these ministers are accredited to colored people where the bogie of social equality cannot be raised. Under Mr. Wilson both of these posts have gone, temporarily, it is said, and doubtless for reasons satisfactory to Mr. Bryan, to white men. The colored people at large accepted this as notice from the White House that the remaining offices heretofore given to colored men were to be taken from them. Alarming as this was, on top of it came the startling news that for the first time in the history of the Federal Government race prejudice was having full swing in some of the Departments at Washington. What had not been dreamed of under Mr. Cleveland, though begun in one office under Mr. Taft, was being attempted under Mr. Wilson—the segregation of negro clerks, both men and women. It appeared that the Secretary of the Treasury had planned to put Patterson at the head of an exclusively negro division upon the plea—to use Mr. McAdoo's own words—"that it would give the negroes an opportunity of national dimensions, to prove their fitness to run, unaided by whites, an important bureau of the Department." Just why this beneficent undertaking was dropped as soon as it appeared that an Indian and not a negro was to head the division has not appeared; if it had all the merit claimed for it, the negroes should not have been deprived of the opportunity of collectively demonstrating their worth, which, in the individual, has long been known to all familiar with the Government's operations.

Careful inquiry by a representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and by newspaper men of the standing of Washington correspondents of the New York *Evening Post* and Boston *Advertiser,* has developed the fact that segregation of colored

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employees exists and is increasing, especially in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, in the Post-Office Department, and in the office of the Auditor for the Post-Office, which is a part of the Treasury Department, and that it has begun in the Washington city post-office. As yet, segregation has not been introduced in the Treasury Building, where there are two hundred and seventy colored employees in the corridors and offices together with white clerks. It is defended by Mr. McAdoo as "an effort to remove causes of complaint and friction where white women have been forced unnecessarily to sit at desks with colored men." But there is no statement that there have been many such complaints or that they were heard of under previous Administrations. Nor is it explained why colored clerks are taken out of rooms in which their sole companions are white men, or why, if there should be segregation because of the women, the Government does not segregate all its women clerks. Nor does Mr. McAdoo record the fact that in many instances the white clerks, without respect to sex, have gone to their colored associates and expressed their complete dissent from the Government's caste undertaking. He indignantly denies that poorer quarters have been given to the segregated, but eye-witnesses have told of colored women shut off in an unpleasant alcove in one office; of others quietly forced out of the lunch-room they had been using for nine years past and compelled to go into lavatories at the lunch-hour, of men clerks segregated behind lockers in one corner of a room in the dead-letter division of the Post-Office Department. Poorer accommodations for the segregated are the invariable law of segregation. The assignment of separate toilet-rooms to the races under threats of prompt punishment for failure to obey the rules has been another of the deeply humiliating features of the Washington segregation. To the colored workers all this segregating has been more brutal than a slap in the face. It is as if the great Government of the United States had gone out of its way to stamp them publicly as lepers, as physically and morally contagious and unfit for association with white people. Among them are perhaps veterans of Fort Wagner, of the Crater of Petersburg, and survivors of the triumphal march into Richmond of General Godfrey Weitzel's black brigade; certainly brothers and sisters of the black troopers who were good enough to die alongside of white men in saving

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the day at San Juan Hill are now learning to know the gratitude of Republics.

These colored people who are thus branded are not roustabouts, or corner loafers, or worthless laborers. They are educated men and women, college graduates many of them, from all over the country who have passed their civil-service examinations and entered the Government's employ with full faith in its justice, asking merely the right to serve on equal terms with their fellows. The readers of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW will understand the bitter humiliation of the segregation orders if they can imagine themselves set apart as unworthy by brute authority, but they can hardly appreciate the added sense of injury which comes from the fact that this is an act of the Federal Government. The negroes have borne as patiently as the children of Israel bore their burdens, the wrongs of disfranchisement, the lynchings and burnings of innocent and guilty, the humiliation of the "Jim Crow" car, the constant personal insults of low whites; these were the acts of individuals or of States lately in rebellion. But that the Federal Government, under whose flag they have fought in every war, under whose ægis they are working, which struck their fetters from their limbs, should now take the side of the oppressors in the year of the fiftieth anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation—this is what hurts and rankles beyond all else. Is it any wonder that one of the leaders of the race of national renown writes that he has never seen his people so discouraged and so embittered as to-day?

They rightly declare—as must every fair-minded man free from prejudice—that this spells caste. They believe that it is intended to drive them out of the public service by rendering it intolerable for negroes with self-respect; they assert that one of the Assistant Secretaries of the Treasury has already held up the promotion of two colored clerks because of their color. Segregation is, beyond doubt, an entering wedge, and here is the chief significance of it all. Let a precedent be established, and who shall say what the outcome will be, to what lengths despotic officials will take their way by means of discrimination, intimidation, by aboveboard or underhand methods? Who shall prophesy to what extent this caste idea may not be developed in the decades to come? If negroes can thus be set apart contrary

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to the spirit of the civil-service law and of the Constitution itself, why not others—Jews, for instance? This phase of it ought to appeal to every supporter of the Woodrow Wilson Administration. Every Administration that comes into power in Washington, whether it be good or bad, must expect to encounter an enormous amount of criticism. The more virile the Government, the more determined it is to put through reforms on behalf of the whole people and to strike at intrenched privilege, the more certain it is to be criticized and to have its motives questioned and assailed. This has been particularly true of the Wilson Administration.

How short-sighted as well as unjust it was, then, for it to have raised this issue of segregation at this time, or, for that matter, at any time! Did it not have troubles enough with Mexico, with the Philippines, with the currency problem—with a hundred-odd things? At the outset of his career as President, Mr. Wilson has, from a politician's point of view, most wrongly and needlessly antagonized one-ninth of the population of this country and its white sympathizers. He has alienated thousands of colored voters in pivotal States, when it would have been so easy to let the situation rest precisely as it was under Mr. Taft. Indeed, it may come to pass that Mr. Wilson will go down to history as the man who set in motion terrible forces for evil without adequate conception or prevision of the dangers he was inviting.

Mr. Wilson has proved himself in many respects a noble and inspired leader with rare political intuition. No one, moreover, can deny that he finds himself in this matter in a terribly difficult position. He is between the devil and the deep sea; on one side the negro-haters so powerful in and out of Congress and official life; on the other side sympathy for the oppressed and disadvantaged, fair play, true democracy, justice, liberty, and an old freedom beckon to him. And his philosophy, if he remains silent and segregates further, will be wrong, his democracy gravely at fault; he has given us beautiful and worthy sentiments in his book called *The New Freedom,* and in his various speeches prior to and since his election to the Presidency. But nowhere thus far do we find any indication that his democracy is not limited both by the sex line and the color line. He fails utterly to see that to discriminate in his democracy against any one is to bring his whole carefully reared edifice crash-

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ing to the ground. The principles upon which our democracy rests must apply to everybody without discrimination, as exactly as a law of science, or they are open to doubt at once. Thus, we should not believe in the law of gravitation if it did not apply alike to every human being; we should not think very much of Mr. Marconi's wireless invention if he could transmit only the first half of the alphabet and not the last. It avails the apologists for the President not at all to say that *The New Freedom* applies only to political and economic problems, for what is the whole race problem but an economic and political one? It would certainly be ridiculous for Mr. Wilson, or his publishers, to expect any appreciative reading among the millions of disfranchised Americans, whether they be colored men and women or white men and women, of his theory of the coming of a new political freedom at the very moment when there is placed upon the colored by two of his own Cabinet an official stigma which no amount of appointing to office will remove.

Mr. McAdoo boasts that he has appointed some colored men to office, and retained other deserving ones, but his policy, whether he knows it or not, is to add to the burdens of the disadvantaged, to make life harder for those whom God made in His image, but with a darker skin; to limit opportunity for those who are rising with all odds against them. One of Mr. McAdoo's colleagues in the Cabinet, to the writer's knowledge, has gone so far as to say that the South is in the saddle and negroes should hold only laborers' positions under the Government. Is it any wonder that one of Mr. McAdoo's subordinates, the collector of internal revenue at Atlanta, was quoted in the public press as saying that "there are no Government positions for negroes in the South; a negro's place is in the corn-field," and as having the intention of throwing every colored employee out of office on charges of incompetency drawn and tried by him? This interview has been disavowed by this collector, but what we have not yet had is proof that he has not this policy at heart and will not carry it out as best and as soon as he can. What Mr. McAdoo does not appreciate is that the slightest yielding to prejudice on the part of a high Federal official will find a dozen imitators in the lower official ranks who think by outdoing their masters to curry favor with those in power.

Mr. McAdoo, in defense of Mr. Wilson, than whom he

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says "no truer, nobler, and braver soldier in the cause of humanity has appeared since the death of Lincoln," declares that those who would criticize this segregation policy do so unjustly and do "infinite harm to the negro race." What he does not see is that if only one colored man or woman has been segregated it gives the deliberate lie to Mr. Wilson's promise to advance the interests of the race and violates his pledge of absolute fair dealing. The men who are injuring the President are not the defenders of this Government's reputation for honor and of the rights of the colored people, but those subordinates who by their official actions have made dubious the President's word. Wittingly or unwittingly the Wilson Administration has allied itself with the forces of reaction, and put itself on the side of every torturer, of every oppresser, of every perpetrator of racial injustice in the South or the North.

The amazing thing about it is the political stupidity of the policy. It is a blunder one does not expect in men of Mr. McAdoo's mentality; it is as if he and his chief had deliberately set themselves to drive supporters away from them. He has put into the hands of the Republican party an issue which, if they have the sense to use it, may be just the touchstone they are seeking, and give them just the battle-cry they need to bring together their scattered, beaten, and demoralized forces. But the folly of raising this race issue does not stop there. It differs but very little from the one that rent the Union. The great struggle which convulsed the United States was, in its simplest terms, nothing else than an attempt of an aristocracy of cotton and land to create two classes of human beings in this country, the slaves and the free. They were willing to sacrifice the Union and everything else to this end. Those who in this day and generation are seeking to establish two classes of citizens, the disfranchised and enfranchised, to say that there shall be two kinds of Government employees—as does Mr. McAdoo's Cabinet associate—they are on the high road to convulsing anew this land of liberty, which will never know peace and quiet as long as there are discriminations among its citizens. Upon their heads will be the responsibility of forcing the issue. To oppress any group of human beings, or to deny them full equality, is to court disaster. For each repression there is certain to come a terrible reckoning.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD.

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ANGLO-SAXON CO-OPERATION AND PEACE

BY AUGUST SCHVAN

THE proud resolve of the United States to keep outside the quagmire of European conflicts has up till now been easily fulfilled. But ominous signs on the international horizon make it certain that the splendid isolation of the Great Republic is soon bound to be a thing of the past. The ever-increasing interdependence of trade, shipping, and finance, of science and of social legislation, is daily making a planetary fabric of the old European network. After the piercing of the Panama barrier this planetary interdependence will be still more acutely felt. The United States will come in closer contact not only with Australasia and Asia but also with those European Powers which strive to draw the lands bathed by the Pacific into the orbits of their political combinations. At the same time the northern neighbor of the United States, with whom its intercourse is daily increasing, stands, so to speak, at the parting of the ways. None can yet tell whether Canada will become a willing satellite of the Motherland in her European aspirations and fears, or whether she and her sister Dominions will be strong and clear-sighted enough to prevent Great Britain from forgetting that it has a greater rôle to play as the center of a globe-scattered empire than as one of the historical powers of Europe.

Whether she desires it or not, the United States will soon have to make up her mind as to what her policy in the new planetary epoch is going to be. She cannot, as in the nineteenth century, simply leave the Eastern Hemisphere alone. In the twentieth century the policy of hemispheres is doomed. Our era demands a planetary policy, and both our era and our planet have great things to expect from the United States.

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Few will deny that mankind is growing more dissatisfied as its power over natural resources is extended. This in itself is a warning that the civilization of which we so wantonly boast is in great danger. It is not astonishing that such should be the case. It is a long time since the fatal separation of politics and ethics began. The former have always, as Bismarck said, belonged to "the science of possibilities." The latter have so far never been adjusted to the possibilities of science. And though science to-day is more universal than ever, the absence of ethics in politics was never more conspicuous. This applies particularly to international politics, while the inherent goodness of man is still from time to time able to assert its humanizing influence in the affairs of the commonwealth.

The tremendous counteraction between internal and external politics is nowhere understood. Dishonesty and unreliability which would disgrace private individuals are tolerated in political life. They are almost looked upon as public virtues in international dealings. Any one who knows and remembers the official and the secret history of the international politics of the last ten years would, as a private individual, turn his back on and refuse his hand to most of the heads of state and the leading ministers of Europe. The exalted positions which they occupy naturally bring their craft and their insincerity to bear upon the nations at large. And the evil influence is perhaps more pernicious in a self-governing nation where every citizen, in a measure, is responsible, than in an autocracy where he has nothing to say. Thus it is difficult to see from what quarter redress could come.

In this respect the daily press reports on Mexican affairs are particularly telling. The unveracity engendered by the natural growth of international distrust is served at every breakfast table. The United States has so far the cleanest record in this respect. But her morality in international behavior is probably due to the fact that the Government at Washington has until lately had very few international dealings on its hands. Provided the honorable traditions of such a Secretary of State as John Hay are kept up, the increasing contact with the outer world cannot, however, fail to have a most beneficial influence on the internal affairs of the American Commonwealth.

Nowhere and never was a high ethical purpose more

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needed. Through the divorce of ethics and politics the true interests of the majority have long been sacrificed to the momentary benefit of some thousands of unscrupulous individuals. The reaction which at last has set in is equally dangerous to self-government and individual liberty. The people cannot always hope to have a Woodrow Wilson at the White House. It would be but natural that the trend of reaction would follow the lines which it has taken on the other side of the Atlantic. But the immense growth of Stateism, which nowhere has been so patent as in Great Britain, is in itself contrary to the principles of the American Constitution. There is very little difference between the tyranny of a small number of private individuals and that imposed by a host of so-called servants of the State. Through both agencies the free citizen becomes a fettered subject. It may be that his position is less enviable under an all-powerful State whose manifold machinations are often hidden under misnomers. Every one imagines himself to have something to say in controlling the public servants. The greater their number, the more difficult it becomes to exercise this control. The votes of the servants of the State are ever at the bidding of those who voice the tyranny of habit. And the untold ramifications of State authority do not allow the downtrodden to focus their revolt against a personality.

If liberty is not to become merely a dim constitutional phrase, it behooves the American people to take instantaneous action. The urgency, and the gigantic complexity of the task, demands, however, a complete unity of purpose between every kind of internal and external policy. There is not the slightest hope for success unless the polity is moved by one of those ethical revivals which lays the foundation for a new epoch in human history. To-day the chance is ours! And the privilege is unique and greater than it has ever been. We can act, not only for a town, a country, or a continent. What we do will affect the whole planet.

The glorious work that is before us demands the adherence to but one single principle, the principle of personal responsibility. But it is a responsibility which is no longer restricted to the family, the tribe, the nation, or the race. Each personality has at last become responsible to humanity as a whole. For the first time in the wonderful romance of our evolution, distance has been eliminated.

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In one sense we have reached a final stage in our development. For the first time we know the ultimate sphere of our activities. All parts of the earth are explored and put into communication with one another. There are no longer unclaimed territories to conquer. Every bit of land belongs to some organized community which forms a more or less influential part of the international Aeropagus.

Consequently the action of each separate organization is bound to influence the whole of mankind as never before. Therein lies the greatness and beauty of national efforts of to-day, therein the excuse for our pleading for energetic participation in international affairs by the United States. If they are really concerned with the liberty of their citizens, they must to-day work for the liberty of mankind. In our planetary epoch, everything which they fail to do for the benefit of mankind will ultimately be to the detriment of their own citizens.

For the present the greatest need of mankind is peace, permanent peace. It alone will ultimately lead to disarmament. To-day the progress of humanity is more hampered by the preparations for war than by the scourge of war itself. Not only do the enormous military and naval efforts of the so-called civilized nations lengthen the hours and shorten the purse of the worker; they limit our existing resources and retard the development of new; they also contravene, hamper, and trammel individual liberty in an ever-increasing degree. There is little doubt that the nefarious recrudescence of Stateism is just as much due to the immense growth of warlike preparations as to the iniquity resulting from a too great concentration of capital. It is evident that there is a close connection between the two phenomena which have their roots in the doctrine of national self-sufficiency. The preparations for war necessitate a gradual extension of the authority of the State, and the wielders of the Iron Fist and the Big Stick are the precursors of those curious friends of humanity who are attempting to make every prospective mother a slave of the State! Notwithstanding their titles, these two, Emperor and President, are the real demagogues, because they incontinently appeal to the time-honored sentiments and carefully nurtured feelings of the subject instead of to the free reason of the citizen.

On the other side, the pacifists commit the same error:

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they so disregard reason as to have no other arguments than the prayers and cantations of churches which, founded as they are on authoritative belief and public worship, destroy the feeling of personal responsibility and freedom of thought. Such intolerant institutions always have been and always will be one of the most warlike instruments the fear and ignorance of man ever invented. Even the few among the pacifists who strive to appeal to reason forget that most of the successful financial operations of the day have resulted from wars which enable the rapacious financiers, who at present control the governments of Europe, to exact the most usurious terms for their loans. Converts to the simple theories of *The Great Illusion* never seem to remember that these financiers have often hastened on these same wars by previous loans sometimes forced upon the powers in question by governments intriguing for the benefit of armament firms which in more senses than one masquerade as a national asset. They pay no attention to the monstrosity of the concession policy practised by almost every government; they ignore the fact that the influence which is able to secure very great advantages to a few daring and unscrupulous individuals is due to the military and naval power behind the interceding government, and that this power is the result of the great exertions of a whole nation. Can the tragedy of human stupidity, of unpardonable immorality, go further? To put this question is to answer it.

To succeed, the plea for peace, the appeal for disarmament, must be based on other arguments than those proffered by the pacifists. The utter futility of their propaganda is best shown by the steady increase in military and naval expenditure all the world over. International peace must, like civic peace, be made such a tangible issue that all who offend against it will be brought before the Law. Just as the only true foundation for the common law is the liberty of the individual, there is only one acceptable basis for the Law of Nations, namely, the principle of self-government. Whatever their failings in the past, the Anglo-Saxon peoples to-day stand out in unison as upholders of this fundamental doctrine which alone can guarantee the greatest amount of happiness to the greatest number. The depth to which this principle has taken hold of them is borne out by the fact that neither the United States nor the British Empire could to-day be found willing to assume the

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government of new conquests. On the contrary, both are unceasingly endeavoring to educate toward self-government the less-developed races whom the relentless onward march of civilization has placed under their temporary control. Such is the avowed colonial policy of these Governments, and of them alone among the colonizing nations of the earth.

The unique position of the Anglo-Saxon peoples is apparent in another and equally important aspect. They form through ethics, which are the keystone of their theories of government, the only possible tribunal before which to-day any disturber of the international peace, any transgressor of the principle of self-government, can in justice be arraigned. They also, and they alone, possess the means of letting any offender feel the force of the Law of Nations. Though they cannot, even if they so desired, prevent all wars, they are to-day in a position to hinder any disturbance of peace on the two great oceans which form the highways of international commerce. It is a position of great responsibility, but also full of marvelous possibilities. If recognized and duly accepted, it is a position which ultimately will lead not only to naval but to military disarmament. Thus mankind will at last be freed from those huge forces on sea and land which, with all the untold interests centering round them, far from preparing for peace, still nurture and foster the primitive war spirit of civilization's infancy.

By limiting their interference with war to the keeping of the peace of the Atlantic and the Pacific, the Anglo-Saxon peoples insure the success which is the unfailing due of a practical policy. They, hereby, in no sense whatever transgress the principles of self-government. The high seas belong to nobody. Peaceful intercourse on their waters is a necessity for the steady development of those relations which put the so wonderfully diversified resources of our beautiful globe within the grasp of each of us. When the Anglo-Saxon world combines to protect the fastnesses and the shores of the two great oceans, it works, therefore, not only for that third part of mankind, which in one way or another owes it allegiance, but for the whole of humanity.

Herein lies the moral strength of the proposition. To make it equally unassailable from a naval point of view, the simplicity of its conception must be followed by a corresponding simplicity in the execution of the policy. Fortu-

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nately the geographical position of the two oceans is such that a clear division of the naval responsibilities of each group, which together form the Anglo-Saxon world, is possible. Thus the unity of action, the unity of command, which is so essential to true economy in the employment of naval forces, can easily be secured. Just as the underlying idea for the co-operation between the United States and the British peoples, on account of its simplicity and of its stability, requires no central authority, nor even a formal treaty of alliance to make it acceptable to all concerned, the carrying out of its naval consequences needs no formal consecration.

The division of labor between the two is quite natural. After the completion of the Panama Canal it will be easy for the United States to concentrate her whole fleet in the Pacific and prevent any oversea attack on China. There the open door means more to America than to any other nation. Safe from aggression over the water, the Government of Peking will be able to concentrate its military expenditure on its land forces and thus be in a better position to withstand possible attacks from powerful neighbors than if it also had to squander money on naval defenses.

With the whole American fleet in the Pacific, the Canadian West, Australia and New Zealand, and all the possessions of the British Empire in those waters would be absolutely secure from oversea attack. Consequently neither the British Empire nor the British Dominions need to expend any money in providing against attacks coming over the waters of the Pacific. There the naval efforts of the British Empire could be limited to the policing of the Persian Gulf and other purely local necessities.

While the stars and stripes would secure the peace of the Pacific, the white ensign would render the same service in the Atlantic. The east coast of the whole American continent would be made safe by the only European Power which has explicitly recognized the Monroe Doctrine. It would be possible for the United States to economize on her coastal defenses provided that the British fleet is kept up to a strength that precludes any possible danger of attack across the Atlantic.

The naval burden which, through such a division of labor, would fall on the British Empire is much heavier than that assumed by the United States. For many reasons, it must be borne primarily by the United Kingdom. Its close

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proximity to the armed continent of Europe makes it even imperative for Great Britain to provide for a not inconsiderable Home Defense Army. It must be able to repel a possible invader who, however great the naval armament may be, under specially unfavorable meteorological conditions, might manage to escape the British fleet. In view of these considerations, justice and equity make it seem appropriate that any contribution which the British Dominions may think it their duty to offer to the common work of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, be it money or in ships, should be applied toward lightening the heavy burden of the British Empire.

Much confusion of thought would be avoided if the appellation "British Empire" was reserved to that portion of the British realm over which the Imperial Parliament at Westminster has any real control, *viz.*, Great Britain and Ireland, with the Crown colonies, India, Egypt, and all the other dependencies and protectorates. Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa are *de facto* outside the proper sphere of any imperial authority, and must for practical reasons continue to be so, unless unsolvable questions of race and immigration shall unavoidably shatter the proud fabric. But notwithstanding the lack of any central machinery for the co-ordination of the self-governing peoples who cluster round the symbol of the British crown, naval co-operation between the five Dominions and the United Kingdom appears more practical than, let us say, between Australia and the United States. A combination of the naval efforts of the British peoples seems, so to speak, to be in the natural order of things. Their display in the Atlantic under one single supreme command has, besides, a very high ethical purpose to fulfill. The United Kingdom shows a much greater proportion of jingoes than either the United States or the British Dominions. It is of the highest importance for the success of the great pacifying task of the Anglo-Saxon combination that this ugly blot on the character of the beloved Motherland of self-government should be eradicated. It is a mission which can best be accomplished by those daughter-nations whose growth to full independence is of so recent date that the mother has not yet lost the habit of listening to their voices. Surely the old English spirit, which has created the wonderful domains of the Anglo-Saxon world by fostering the natural tendency to self-

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reliance and self-help inherent in every real man, is not yet dead among the inhabitants of those small islands in the North Sea which form the center of the greatest Empire that ever was. If such is the case, the mother will be proud of her daughters when they, as grown-up sister-nations, tell her that their co-operation can only be had at the price of making the family policy worth while for all its members.

Now none of the Dominions have the slightest interest in the European entanglements of the United Kingdom. The overwhelming majority of the citizens of the Dominions are strongly and rightly opposed to lending their support to any policy which possibly might involve the employment of their direct or indirect contributions to a British Navy for purposes quite outside their concern. If, therefore, the statesmen of Great Britain are sincere in their so often expressed desires to curtail the heavy naval and military expenditure of the United Kingdom, the first thing they ought to do is to revert to that policy of splendid isolation from European political squabbles which in the past has so well served British interests.

As soon as the whole might of the British Navy is exclusively reserved for keeping the peace of the Atlantic, none of the Dominions worthy of the name of Anglo-Saxon, which stands for fairness and justice between man and man, will stand aloof. Made secure in the Pacific by the American fleet, Australia and New Zealand can economize on their military defenses, and Canada, who has the United States to thank for the safeguarding of her Pacific coast, will be fair both to its southern neighbor and to its British connections by assuming her part in policing the Atlantic.

The natural complement of the Anglo-Saxon policy of limiting their foreign policy to the keeping of the peace on the two great oceans is a British withdrawal from the Mediterranean; an already accomplished fact. The few British warships there represent no serious strategic factor. An increase of their number to anything corresponding to the rival fleets of its riverain powers would mean so serious a financial responsibility for the people of Great Britain that it is not likely to take place in spite of all the talk of that section of the British public which is unable to see that the European situation has changed since Nelson's time. Yet an explicit declaration of withdrawal from the Mediterranean is necessary. The presence of any number of British

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warships there, in excess of the requirements of localized defense, is incompatible with the avowed intention of the British peoples not to interfere with European politics.

The Mediterranean is of no particular value to the Dominions, and even to the British Empire it is only of secondary importance. If the British fleet is unable to guarantee the safety of its blue waves, the route round the Cape of Good Hope has to be sufficient for imperial purposes. But as the co-operation between the British peoples and the United States would guarantee both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the French possessions from oversea attack, the chances are that the shorter route to India always would be open. France would be able to concentrate her available naval resources in the Mediterranean, where she can count upon the co-operation of both Spain and Greece. The former has identical interests in always keeping open the communications with North Africa. The latter could never throw in her interests with both of the Mediterranean Powers of the Triple Alliance. To further faciliate France's task it would be in the true interest of the British Empire to accompany her withdrawal from the Mediterranean by removing its objection to the opening of the Bosporus and the Dardanelles to the Russian fleet. As long as militarism holds its sway over Europe, France and Russia must march together. France has now reached the climax of her expansion. There is nothing left which she can henceforth hope to lay her hands upon. Syria is perfectly capable and willing to take care of herself in case the Turkish Empire should fall asunder. It is therefore difficult to conceive of a repetition of the old French antagonism toward England. On the other hand, there would be no wheat-ships from Odessa if Russia became hostile. As long as France and Russia are allied they are bound to act in conjunction with regard to the bulk of those British food-supplies which pass the Strait of Gibraltar. In this respect the possession of Gibraltar, Malta, and Egypt is a valuable British contribution toward the safeguarding of those Mediterranean communications which really matter for the United Kingdom. Apart from adequate local defenses these Mediterranean possessions of the British Empire are mainly secured by the inevitable interplay of rival European interests.

As for the pretended danger to India in case the Russian Black Sea fleet were able to enter the Mediterranean, the

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foregoing considerations have already given this side of the question its true importance. But as a general proposition, it may be doubted whether a Russian intention to attack India ever existed. At any rate, there is no fear of such an aggression to-day. A Russian attack on India would always have been impossible unless aided by the Indian peoples themselves. They are already to-day much further advanced toward self-government than the great mass of the Russian people. There is no likelihood whatever that they would prefer to exchange the gradually relaxing rule of the British Raj for the tyranny of the Czar.

In order to win the full and unstinted support of the Dominions, *Great Britain ought also to release herself from* those treaties which imply armed interference on the European continent. This will, more than anything else, convince the outside world of the absolute rectitude and unselfishness of the Anglo-Saxon co-operation. It will give the distrusting peoples of Europe a tangible proof of the sincerity of the British intentions. Then the organization of the British Army can be adapted to colonial purposes exclusively. Quite apart from these considerations, it is difficult to conceive how any serious political or military thinker could in our age have contemplated the employment of the Expeditionary Force on the battlefields of Belgium or France. The telegraph would send the news of its disembarkation to every corner of the British Empire and so flame the spirit of unrest wherever it may be smoldering.

As a matter of fact, the openly avowed desires of the powerful military circles in Great Britain to interfere on the continent are at the back of the latest increase of Europe's armaments. It may not be surprising that these desires should have found a warm welcome among the rank and file of the Tories who look to conscription as the best means to "discipline" the discontented working-men. Nor is it astonishing that their unscrupulous leaders made a party weapon of the German scare. The disquieting feature is that the military caste succeeded in making the Liberals believe that England needs France more than France needs England. During the Moroccan crisis of 1911 it was their leaders who pronounced the ridiculously exaggerated and grossly unfair speeches which are the main cause of the revival of French chauvinism and German popular hatred of England. Thus the latter really reaps what she has sown.

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On the whole, the German people may well be excused. They at least have enough sense to understand that the sending of a gunboat with a crew of a hundred men to Agadir could not possibly aim at anything else than to direct French public opinion on the necessity of fair play in Morocco, already endangered by the contradictory tactics of the three foreign ministers who succeeded one another in Paris in the space of less than four months. To the Germans at large the British outburst was incomprehensible. Yet the Kaiser ought to bear the full share of his responsibility. For years the wearer of the shining armor has been studiously nursing the warlike temper of a people which for generations has passed through the mill of universal military service. To call such a man a peacemaker is just as nonsensical as to award the peace prize to the man who grasped the theatrical possibilities of mediating between an exhausted Japan and a tired Russia.

The objection that a refusal to defend the neutrality of Belgium would ultimately involve serious dangers to Great Britain cannot be taken seriously. Germany could not afford to conquer and keep either Belgium or Holland. The modern world knows, or at least ought to know, that nationalities can no longer be subjugated. The German Government has already enough troubles of this kind on its hands. It has had large experience of what nationalist parties mean in its Danes, its Guelphs, its Alsatians, and its Poles. It is unthinkable that it should wish to weaken the dwindling monarchical majority by making it possible for a new Belgian or Dutch party to swell the ranks of its opponents.

The explicit and irrevocable withdrawal of Great Britain from European politics would be of incalculable service to the British Empire, to the Dominions, to the United States, to mankind as a whole. It is the primary condition for a successful Anglo-Saxon combine on which the satisfactory solution of peace and disarmament hangs. Great Britain need feel no false shame in taking this essential step. It is by no means a confession of weakness! But to entirely counteract any possible misinterpretation of the courageous initiative, the strongest naval power should accompany its voluntary withdrawal from the European card-table by a gift of singular magnanimity. Great Britain should withdraw its opposition to the expressed desire not only of the United States, but of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and seven-

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teen other countries, that private property should be immune from capture at sea. It is, of course, extremely doubtful whether the general acceptance of this principle would in itself make for a decrease in armaments. The naval profession, the royal and imperial admirals, and the captains of industry who live on the money sunk in warships would at once bolster up the supposed and enticing needs of coast defense both at home and in the colonies. Yet at least the excuse for the barbarous conversion of merchantmen to cruisers on the high seas would be gone. And, what is more, the moral position of Great Britain would be immeasurably enhanced if she made it perfectly evident that she had "nothing up her sleeve."

Standing quite outside the orbits of the two groups in which the armed camp of Europe is divided, Great Britain's influence in the inharmonious concert would be far greater than when she endeavors to play the trombone herself. When it is no longer directly concerned with the balance of power, Downing Street can always raise its voice in favor of moderation and count upon that respectful hearing from both parties which is the reward of a disinterested mediator.

The opportunity for a withdrawal from any direct participation in the quarrels of the dynasties of Europe is at present particularly favorable. The recent increase in the Belgian defenses, together with the outcome of the crisis in the Balkans, where Greece and Bulgaria balance each other, while Rumania and Servia may add their forces to those of the Dual Alliance in preparing for the fulfilment of legitimate national aspirations, and a sober Constantinople might be expected to concentrate its energies upon consolidating Asiatic Turkey, enable France and Russia to look with equanimity on any further increase of the military forces of the Triple Alliance. There is now a balance of power between the latter and the Dual Aliance unaided by Great Britain. Thus her withdrawal, not from her friendships, but from her European engagements, admitted or not openly avowed, though generally understood, becomes almost imperative. It would tranquilize one side without endangering the other.

Among all the severe criticism which has been heaped on the present policy of Great Britain, it should not be forgotten that the United Kingdom in one respect occupies a unique position which makes her singularly fitted to play

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a leading part in a planetary movement. Alone of all the great nations of the earth the United Kingdom is an adherent of free trade. Products of all countries can pass her own borders and the borders of her vast empire and compete on equal terms with the results of the labors of her own citizens. It is a truly magnificent position for a preacher of universal peace and good-will, a logical outcome of that principle of self-government of which the ultimate aim is the greatest human liberty imaginable: the possibility to move unhindered all over the globe and to enjoy its infinite resources as far as the limits of time permit.

The strategical distribution of the British and the American fleet will in itself be a most valuable geographical demonstration of the unshakable purpose of the Anglo-Saxon co-operation. From the moment the German people realize that the British fleet under no circumstances whatever can be lured away into the Pacific or the Mediterranean, the preamble of the German Naval Bill will cease to have an appearance of reasonableness. It says that "Germany must have a fleet of such strength that even for the greatest naval power a war with her would involve such risks as to imperil its own supremacy." But if the superior British fleet is always concentrated in the Atlantic and seeks no supremacy elsewhere, the Germans would be no better off if they sacrificed their whole fleet in an effort to diminish the British fleet than they were before. What was left of the British fleet would still control the Atlantic! Logically, therefore, the German people will soon be led to constrain the Imperial Government to curtail the heavy expenditure on a navy which evidently has no reasonable purpose to fulfill.

The Japanese would be in the same happy position. Knowing that nothing could entice the American fleet to leave the Pacific, they could well ask their Government for what purpose it burdens them with naval estimates when it would be evident that Japan was secure from oversea attack and unable to undertake any aggression across the water.

Gradually the same sort of reasoning will be done everywhere. And the reduction of the British and American navies which will immediately follow any diminution of the naval forces of Germany and Japan will hasten both this reasoning and the process of naval disarmament. Eventually the naval interests will become silent.

That this return to common sense will have a powerful

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influence on popular opinion concerning purely military armaments needs scarcely to be demonstrated. It will be heightened by the illuminating spectacle of seeing the great naval powers of to-day diverting hundreds of millions of dollars from ships to education. And lest the Continental Powers of Europe should be tempted to increase their land forces by devoting the money saved on the navy to the army, let them become aware of what will happen in Great Britain. The co-operation of the United States and the Dominions will enable the United Kingdom to save so many millions on her naval and military estimates that she can henceforth proceed to train her whole youth for the serious business of life. With every British boy and girl fully prepared to take part in the work of manhood or womanhood, it will be impossible for Continental Europe to compete in international commerce, unless it ceases to turn its cities into barracks. It will have to stop the mad proceeding of letting those of its workmen who least need physical improvement get stale through long years of military service. Military disarmament will follow naval disarmament. The international competition will be transferred to the fruitful field of education.

Thus the co-operation of the Anglo-Saxon peoples will benefit the whole of humanity and their national policy will rest on the only secure foundation the ingenuity of man ever will discover. Seeking no mean advantages from any nation, requiring no alliances with peoples who have not yet been able to attain self-government, neither the United States nor the British peoples need to pander to monarchical or oligarchical interests. True to their own principles both in internal and external policy, the statesmen of the Anglo-Saxon world can carry high the torch of Liberty. Hidden by no protective screen, its vigorous light will soon illuminate the darkest corners of our globe. Self-government will everywhere come to its right. The idea that a self-governing community should wish to interfere with another will become as obsolete a conception as it is an illogical thought. The ethics which regulate the relations of the different communities will be the same as those which serve between man and man. The new freedom will be complete. The State will become the servant of the individual. Its efforts will be directed toward preventing interference with liberty, not toward organizing its destruction. AUGUST SCHVAN.

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MUST PROTESTANTISM ADOPT CHRISTIAN SCIENCE?

BY A CHURCHMAN

If correctly reported, the Church Commission on healing the sick says, "Any attempt on the part of the clergy to enter into competition with the medical practitioner by any separate and independent treatment of the sick is to be strongly deprecated, not merely on practical but also on religious grounds." This statement disregards the commands of the Christ. It reveals ignorance of the practical and religious grounds on which the remarkable success of Christian healing is based. It rejects the central fact of the Kingdom of God, which is the superiority of spiritual power over every form of physical phenomena.

The writer would submit the proposition that Protestantism must substantially adopt the faith and practice of Christian Science if its churches are to fulfil their mission to the world. This conviction is the result of several years' critical and philosophical investigation of the doctrines and practice of Christian Science compared with the experiences and observation of many years as a priest of the Church.

The fact that such a proposition shocks the Church sense and meets with contempt is presumptive evidence of its truth. Men do not condemn a movement unless they feel its influence penetrating their prejudices and false positions and awakening them to unwelcome truth. The Church always has denounced and persecuted whatever has not accorded with its inherited traditions and formulated beliefs.

This new-old faith is to be regarded not so much a denomination as a fellowship aiming to realize in daily life the art of being a Christian, the science of which art involves spiritual laws which are as capable of demonstration now as during the life of the Master.

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Its scientific value is found in the personal experiences of about a million of its students in every part of the world who work out in their consciousness and acts the same kind of life which was in Christ Jesus. Such testimony cannot be affected by the witness of those who have not had similar experiences. It is unfair to judge them from any point of view than their own, which is the absolute and the spiritual.

All agree in the fact that as church-members they could not find the spiritual help they craved and could not be aided by the ministers to find God or to understand Jesus Christ. In Christian Science they claim to have found satisfaction in these particulars. It is fair to suppose that their statements are true inasmuch as their word was never questioned when they were active members of these churches, and their leaving the churches can hardly be a proof of deterioration, especially in the face of their consciousness of having become better Christians than ever. If they changed their church in spite of the love of the associations they had formed in childhood and many sacred ties, through the push of dissatisfaction because their souls were starving and the pull into a communion where at once they were fed with available and living truth, and realized in membership a happiness upon a higher plane than ever before, it is evident that so far as they are concerned the Church lacked an essential which Christian Science possesses and which the Church must adopt to retain such members. If a majority of these people tried every resource of medical science and received no benefit, and lost all hope when told that nothing more could be done for them, and reluctantly and with no faith in Christian Science tried it and found healing through the apprehension of Truth, then for them this religion is identical with primitive Christianity. Their testimony shows that they would not have gone into Christian Science had the Church been as Christian and as scientific.

In our churches to-day multitudes feel the same dissatisfaction at the materialism, the selfishness, and the absence of a sense of God. The most conservative apologists of our Church admit that somehow, somewhere, something is wrong, but find in the fact of such admission an evidence of spiritual life which they hope will become supreme after the forms, forces, and truths in this transitional age shall have been precipitated as the base of a new order. The Church

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querulously wonders why so many thousands are leaving it for agnosticism, socialism, and material pleasures when it only has the words of life. To save itself it frantically resorts to every kind of attraction to interest people. It shifts its activities into social, civic, economic, and political reforms, institutes social commissions, urges the federation of national denominations, and proposes very pretty schemes for church unity, and some absurd plans of evangelizing the whole world. The Church seems afraid to venture on the purely spiritual life which all people crave. It is as true of a church as of a man, "If one have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of His." Christian Scientists the world over testify that having the mind of Christ is the goal toward which they are daily striving and which they could not find as the aim of the churches they left. It seems clear that Protestantism must adopt this purpose as its reason of being if it would hold and attract individuals of the same disposition as those who have left its communions. It may be many years before our Church will grow into the spiritual conditions which make possible an adoption of the essential contents of Christianity which distinguish Christian Science. Thirty national denominations allied in federation, with twenty million communicants, refuse to recognize it, although it is working for the same end and in a better spirit. The denunciations by many ministers reveal a lack of thought and of kindness which raises a suspicion that the fear of losing members rather than love of truth may account for their hostility. Perhaps, because they resent the impertinence of mere laymen teaching us accredited and infallible guides how to find God!

If we study the relation of the Church to its work of salvation, the need of the adoption of Christian Science becomes imperative. Our failure to successfully apply Christianity to existing conditions is preventing its function of regenerating the world.

The Church must serve the people with religious truth. We have an army of over thirteen million children of school age marching into citizenship and control of our government without any Sunday-school instruction, and many millions more growing away from the Church. About fifty million persons are outside of any direct influence from our churches.

The publicity revealing so many shocking evils in our

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civic and social life and economic relations makes clear the fact that the Church so liberally distributed in all parts of our cities and country has failed to prevent their existence. The Church stands for the deliverance of the country from everything false, unlovely, and debasing, and many church-members are creators of these evils. The head of the clearing-house for defectives says: "In New York we have twenty thousand defective children, largely the direct result of the overwork and overstrain to which their mothers are subjected in factories. Conditions are worse here than in any other country of the world." In order that a few thousand may have large wealth, millions suffer. Two million children who should be at school and at play are compelled to work in canneries, mines, and factories. Two hundred and fifty thousand are being starved or their vitality is lowered by adulteration of foods.

There are more inmates of our insane asylums than of all our colleges and universities,—that is, we are destroying minds faster than we are giving higher education.

The Church stands for everything normal, but does not prevent conditions largely social which wreck health.

Every year millions die of preventable diseases notwithstanding the efforts of the best medical skill, and about all the Church does is to advise the bereaved to be resigned to the will of God, "who knows best, and does not willingly afflict or grieve the children of men." Multitudes live below the living wage, unable to lay up for old age or the rainy day, but it does not seem to interest the Church, which is satisfied with theoretical teaching of the law of Love. What an invective against our Church as a regenerating power are the child-labor scandals and white-slave traffic, arson trusts, vice trusts and thief trusts, gambling, alcoholism and drug habits, sickness, slums, poverty, insanity, sexual diseases and crimes of all sorts, and the cursing, the moaning, and the baby sobs of industrial slaves!

We of the Church know that every one who puts things of material life above the values of human well-being is indirectly a party to the system of oppression of divine manhood. Yet we retain these bad members because they are sound in doctrine and help support the Church. It points with pride to its gift of the hundred million dollars annually to charities and its larger amounts for education, church support, and missions. As four per cent. of our population

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at the most productive age is not only incompetent but a burden on liberal givers, such a sane management is demanded of Christendom that this proportion should be gradually reduced and incompetency be for ever prevented by destroying its causes. The "labor question" is played with by those who, constituting the Body of Christ, lack His earnestness when He said to the eminently respectable church-members who economically enslaved the people, "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!"

The trouble with the Church is that it is too materialized to effect spiritual results. Even most of its good works are of the carnal mind life. No change of name can cause a change of character. No federation or union of materially minded denominations can ever produce organized world power to bring in God's Kingdom. Churches living for themselves do not even see the real Christ because the spiritual kingdom can be discerned only spiritually.

The practical effects of the adoption of Christian Science would be that not one member of the Church would be found in any way connected with business which puts human well-being below material interests. The evils of diseases in wrecking homes and bringing into being children cursed with sterility, blindness, deformity, paralysis, and insanity would be banished. Three million people in this country who are abnormal and who cost us annually two hundred millions would ultimately be saved. Illness and poverty and sin would be prevented, and the spiritual kingdom would be realized.

Such a statement would be chimerical were it not demonstrable. Hundreds of thousands bear witness to having risen through Christian Science into a spiritual consciousness in which sin, poverty, and sickness cannot exist. Here is the dynamic of Love, which can regenerate the world and elevate the underworld of crime and misery to heavenly places of holiness and joy.

The writer by personal investigation and critical observation has found desiderata in Christian Science which do not obtain in our average churches. How desirable it would be if our churches, like theirs, could have ninety per cent. of their members regularly attend a midweek meeting, irrespective of unfavorable conditions!

No topic of conversation is of such interest to Christian Scientists as their faith and practice. They talk of it with

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joy, and practise it with enthusiasm. With us it is taboo, or spoken of with apology and usually voted stupid.

They never resort to the methods of raising money so common in the average church. There is no discrimination between rich and poor made invidious by pew rentals. They are daily striving to have the mind of Christ Jesus and are slowly becoming Godlike.

Their text-book says that no one can become a true Scientist until he leaves all to follow Christ, and their persistent endeavor is to leave every carnal attraction to gain the life hidden with Christ in God. Their courtesy and patience under exasperating treatment are unusual. It does seem as if they come nearer to loving their enemies than any other class of Christians. They so respect individuality that they will not serve or treat even those who need their help unless asked to do so.

Healing sickness is with them as much a religious duty as destroying sin. Both are simply a manifestation of the inner spiritual life which they are constantly striving to have more abundantly. This practice of primitive Christianity by the disciples for nearly three hundred years, which was lost to the Church when the Holy Spirit was driven out, is now undoubtedly restored in Christian Science. If the Church should adopt it, there would be manifest the strongest evidence of the renaissance of Christianity.

The glory of our Church is its missionary work, but there is a deplorable lack of knowledge, interest, and appreciation concerning its extension, activity, and support. The Christian Scientist is an enthusiastic propagandist, a radiating center of his belief, not forcing his faith upon any one, but letting his good works reveal his Father. In a few decades these people have extended the knowledge of their faith to every part of the world. Every day in every land they are systematically studying the same selections from the Bible and from their commentary on it. Lecturers make trips around the world, teaching clearly just what Christian Science means. A monthly magazine, two weekly papers, and a daily newspaper, which is a model of Christian journalism, are sowing the seeds of Truth everywhere.

The fine type of Christian character, the striving to have the mind of Christ Jesus, the art of healing as an expression of its practical theology, the business prosperity, pure

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living following clean thinking, the spirituality, the loyal citizenship to the Kingdom of God with its ardent missionary spirit—these are the undoubted fruits of the Spirit. Such fruitage is not common in the average church.

Besides this superior product, the theology of Christian Science is more scientific than that which is popularly accepted by the churches. To them the primary quest is the Kingdom of God, and they realize that in their increasing material prosperity things are indeed thrown in as the promised by-product.

Both they and the Church agree that the God, whose is the Kingdom, is the one and only God. He is Spirit, Love, Life, and Truth. He is infinite Personality, Omnipresent, Omniscient, and Omnipotent. We believe this as a reasonable proposition. They believe it as a working Principle.

Our God is an enlarged likeness of sinless man. He comes down to us by incarnation in Jesus and is diffused through humanity by the Holy Spirit. We call Him by prayer and meet Him in hallowed localities and in sacraments. Often instead of worshiping God we find we are worshiping only an idea of Him, and a dead idea at that.

The Christian Science concept of God is free from the material limitations of anthropomorphism. It makes God infinite Principle, Love, everywhere present in all the fullness of His infinite Personality. On this concept it bases its beautiful theistic idealism. God is what He is wherever He is. In such a presence completely filling the universe with His Being and its manifold expression, other gods are unthinkable; so are sin and things false and selfish. The average Churchman constructs his own Pantheon. Because his God sits aloof from human interests he gives his little divinities God's place in his life and conduct. The Scientist, knowing only one God, is a zealous destroyer of false gods in his own life and everywhere.

Wherever God is, He is omniscient, and therefore needs not to be told what we want as if He had not thought of our needs when He created the world. Everywhere He is omnipotent, hence any power contrary to Him and His purposes and laws is inconceivable. He is everywhere operative and operating all the while, and is always available for every one's needs. From these facts of absolute and infinite Being, the Christian Scientist draws practical conclusions and applies them to his daily needs.

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The Church makes the creation of man chiefly material. Christian Science makes it wholly spiritual.

Both teach that man was made in the image and likeness of God.

The Church holds that sin destroyed this image and that God sent misery, disease, and death as a curse. Total depravity and original sin became racial and universal facts. Christian Science believes that because man was made like God he is thereby perfect. The real, spiritual man could not fall. The material man cannot be real, nor can real man be both material and spiritual. If man, separated from God, could so overcome evil that he could ultimately become like God and reach a stage where he would be unable to fall, then God would have given to fallen man the power to create, with the help of sin, a superior man to the one He Himself made without the aid of sin.

As to how there could be sin in a perfect creation, no explanation is found which can harmonize conflicting difficulties. The Church says God gave man free-will and foresaw that by its exercise he would disobey. By this decree, He was either not able or not willing to prevent the fall, and by it the entrance into the world of sin and death. He used the situation, however, as a background to display His mercy and love to man. By blood atonement He would become reconciled to man, and so man would be saved. Again, making a better man by the aid of sin than the one created in His image.

The problem of how the illusions of false sense came into seeming existence is not as interesting or important to Christian Scientists as the problem of how to escape from discord in order to enter harmony. It is their business, as it was the Master's, to uncover the nature of error vitiating the human consciousness and to show men the principle which, applied, will effect its elimination.

The Church and Christian Science agree that only through the atonement of Jesus Christ can man be saved. Against the numerous theories of the atonement we state the Christian Science interpretation as follows: God never needed to be reconciled to man, but the natural man must be reconciled to God. Jesus the Christ came to reveal our essential oneness with God and the consequent perfection of our spiritual selfhood. This realized would cause us to crucify whatever tended to

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separate us from Him. God is regarded as just as much interested in our individually doing our part in the atonement as He was in Christ Jesus doing His part as the type or pattern for humanity. The life of Jesus was a manifestation of His oneness with God, the source of all power and of the sovereignty of spiritual understanding over all the beliefs of material sense. By His realization of this atonement He healed the sick, cast out devils, walked on the water, hushed the storm, raised the dead, laid down His life to take it again and to rise out of the material bodily sense of being into the spiritual realities of God's Kingdom. This revelation of man's oneness with the Father makes one conscious of his perfection as the reflection of the perfect God. Being at one with God, our individuality is no more an independent entity than an idea coming into our consciousness can be an exclusive possession. Our life is simply an expression of the infinite Life as an idea is the expression of universal Truth.

The explanation of Christian Science healing is found in the fact that all evil is the phenomenon of false sense, which is dispelled by the dawning of Truth in human consciousness. The lie of evil being cast out, its phenomena of sin and sickness must disappear. If we explain the presence of sickness as sent by God, we have Perfection sending imperfection, Harmony expressing discord, and Truth originating falsity. A good God then must think evil. If indeed God could send it, only goodness should be seen in it, and man should regard it as normal and something to thank Him for, and might be pardoned for holding that Jesus and physicians and health engineers in trying to prevent it and heal it are opposing the Divine Will, and that the Church is right in not trying to remove physical evils. Their healing is an expression of working out their redemption by atonement, not as a theory, but as a divine organic oneness which must be personally demonstrated to reveal its reality. Gaining the consciousness of divine indwelling and of God's Kingdom within them, they by faith and spiritual understanding know that sickness cannot be in the same presence, and that these ills are unreal, though to false sense intensely and painfully real. They reason that if God be everywhere present, anything unlike Him can be nowhere present. If He be omniscient, error and its inharmony can be never in such a presence. If omnipotence be everywhere, no power can be

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anywhere against it. If illness be real, it must be outside of God or within Him. Omnipresence makes it impossible for it to be outside of Him. If within Him, then there would be evil in the Divine Mind—also impossible.

If this idealism which is so real produces better lives, healthier and purer living than Protestantism is producing, and its fruitage proves to be identical with that of primitive Christianity, the Church must adopt it as the true science of the Christian life. It has the dynamic of a faith which worketh by Love, opens spiritual understanding, makes God a real presence, and by thus transforming the life becomes a world power.

To realize its mission as a world-regenerating life, it must appeal to that which is fundamental in every religion, race, and civilization. It must demonstrate its efficiency to improve upon the inherited beliefs from which they get their inspiration. The Protestant missions in their aggressive, heroic, and co-operative ministry are heavily handicapped by the failure of the Church to regenerate its own life and make its own country come up to the standard which it earnestly holds up to the so-called heathen. The Kingdom of God removes sin, sickness, poverty, fear, worry, and their results. The regenerating Church as part of the expression of that kingdom must show all nations how in its own country it has been able to do this. Until this has been done among its own members at least, it cannot expect to demonstrate its practicality. It fails to do this. Christian Science organizes no civic, social, or political movement to destroy evil, but discloses evils in the individual, and applies divine Truth, Life, and Love to eradicate them. It removes economic distress and slavery by the love coming from the atonement of Jesus Christ. Its teaching states the ground of economic freedom and shows the law by which poverty may be abolished anywhere in the world. To effect this, one has only to follow Jesus in praying to God as the spiritual source of all supply. Thousands have become missionaries bearing witness to its efficiency in relieving them from penury and business distress.

To remove illness as a cause of many resulting evils, one must do as Jesus did, who opened His life to let God through upon those who by faith opened their lives to receive Him. Our Church is recognizing this duty as its function, as seen in its Emmanuel Movement and its Commission for insti-

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tuting an office of healing by anointing and prayer. Protestantism is not competent to teach the full Gospel unless it includes healing the sick as an evidence of God's presence in the lives of its members, and adopts the Christian Science method as practically identical with the way of Jesus Christ. To destroy sin is, among our churches, largely a matter of egoistic will-power. The way of Christian Science is to see the sin disclosed by some temptation and to bring into the consciousness the sense of Christ's Truth which expels the sin. This is based on the way Jesus resisted temptations. He kept sin out by always keeping God within. God as the only Cause can effect only positive holiness and therefore utterly abolishes its negations.

The Christian Science interpretation of the Bible gives catholicity for a world-transforming religion identical with the primary and ultimate purpose of Christ's Christianity respecting sin. It is one with the Old Testament tracing of evil to a perverse will. It also is one with the Aryan philosophy, which finds that error, or a disturbance of the harmony of Truth, is the cause of sickness and sin. The expulsion of negation by its positive is the most effective way of driving out sin and sickness and their resultant evils. It destroys false beliefs because when Truth comes in, error, the unreal, goes out. When Life enters, discords, sickness, limitations, and want leave. When Love is admitted, fear, worry, and all forms of selfishness are cast out. Everything unlike God, who is so real to them, becomes nothing in their consciousness. As their text-book says, "One infinite God (good) unifies men and nations; constitutes the brotherhood of man; fulfils the scripture, 'Love thy neighbor as thyself'; annihilates pagan and Christian idolatry—whatever is wrong in social, civil, criminal, political, and religious codes; equalizes the sexes, annuls the curse on man, and leaves nothing that can sin, suffer, be punished or destroyed."

These points are enough to show the superiority of Christian Science as a spiritual commentary on the Bible and as a guide into the Truth as it is in Christ Jesus. Yet it is simply what the Church holds theoretically, without, however, applying to conduct the logical conclusions drawn from its theology.

The Church has failed to appreciate it because it does not care to find out if these things be true, and catches up in-

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correct and partial expositions of it and accepts as true claims of callow enthusiasts whose healing too often is rather a mental massage and thought manipulation than the working of God as Truth. Even when carefully studied, there are often confusion and repulsion because words which are symbols of material objects must be used to convey spiritual reality, and also because to see spiritual concepts requires spiritual perception. Back of all misunderstanding, however, is unmistakable evidence of what it is worth by what it has done for many hundreds of thousands in saving them from sin, shame, poverty, sickness, and despair, which the churches of which they were members could neither do nor show them how to have it done.

It stands related to Protestantism somewhat as the primitive Church to the Jewish religion.

Against materialism it is the most powerful protest ever known, destructive of it by its constructive life as spiritual only and expressive of absolute being. Against caste and exclusive selfishness it is building up a democracy of those who are members one of another and all equal as children of God. A million and more, all laymen, who have come out of slavery to the false are fighting an inspiring campaign to abolish the whole body of sin, poverty, disease, and death.

In its results it is proportionally more successful in healing than medical science, and in spiritual salvation than the Church.

Against that type of socialism whose slogan is "No God, No Master," it presents the true conception of God unlike the one the Church has so long taught us, a Being so real and attractive as to compel adoration. Against "No Master" it so presents Christ Jesus as the One Master that when these wild protestants against the social order curse the Church they hurrah for Jesus and call Him Master.

It seems to be the only power in religion to retard and return the tide that is setting away from God and the Church by revealing the God whom they in heart ignorantly worship and whom on their lower plane they desire but see not.

A. CHURCHMAN.

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THE MATERIALISTS

BY MARGARET SHERWOOD

In the green world of winds and rains
  The tyrants of this age
Have bound the human soul in chains
  Within an iron cage.

And loud through earth's highways they flout,
  With strident voices call:
"There is no sky. The sun is out!
  The prison cell is all!"

Though they shut out with molten bars
  Meadow and sky and sea;
Oh, break them open to the stars,
  And let the soul go free!

SIDNEY'S APOLOGIE FOR POETRIE

Reading, I seem to hearken one who sings
  A many-cadenced song, divinely wrought
In nobly-measured prose, which subtly brings
  The music of Elizabethan thought.

Margaret Sherwood.

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CHARLES ELIOT NORTON: A REMINISCENCE

BY WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS

It may be said at once that the authors of the biographical comment on the *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*[1] have done their part with taste and discretion. I have no means of knowing how they shared the work between them, but I imagine that a large part of the comment was written by Miss Norton. What I know is that the work is always so done as to place the structural facts before the reader with entire clearness, and leave him in possession of them unhampered by supposition or conjecture. The admirable effect is to allow the letters to tell the story, which is of the slightness characteristic of the lives of scholars. It is only when a scholar struggles for life as well as for letters that the incidents of his struggle have the poignant interest of those in the careers of other notable men: men of the world, and not of the study. The career of Norton had no such incidents; life and letters came smoothly to him by an inherited ease of condition and a birthright of learning. If there were any American purple, one might say he was born in the purple; as it is one may say he was born in the fine linen, the finest of our American weave and fiber, the lawn of the New England minister's Genevan bands. More than almost any other prominent New-Englander he was of the Brahminical caste, and was marked equally by the Calvinistic severity of his remotest Puritanic ancestor, the Rev. John Norton of Hingham, and by the Unitarian lenity of his immediate ancestor, the Rev. Andrews Norton of the Harvard Divinity School. Their blend became in him a moral

[1] *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton.* With Biographical Comment by his Daughter, Sara Norton, and M. A. de Wolfe Howe. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

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force making for civic righteousness and an esthetic conscience endeavoring as unbrokenly for the elevation and direction of art in all its phases among us. The strain of poetry, delicate, pure, in the devotional verse of his father, so almost entirely ceased in the son that it is with a sort of incredulity one comes upon a few of his graceful lines in this record. From the first he gave himself to learning; at the very first, when the child's intelligence began to stir in him, he had the quaint ambition of editing his father's sermons. But when the earlier learning-years were past, and the working-years were immediately before him, it was quite by his choice, if not altogether his desire, that he took his part in practical affairs. That is, after a certain amount of office work, he went out supercargo to India, as the custom was for well-qualified or well-friended Bostonians in the eighteen-thirties and forties, when the deep-sea commerce of the port was a condition and not a tradition of great prosperity.

But if business is war, his experience of it did not silence his devotion to letters. In the midst of it he writes home to his family of what he sees in the same mood as he wrote his *Notes of Travel and Study in Italy* long after he had laid down the arms of the commercial recruit. Business had been his choice for the time, but he was dedicated by nature and culture to that sort of censorship which after his return home became his office to the end of his days. There were summer changes of place, earlier to Newport and later to Ashfield. There were sojourns abroad, pretty well everywhere on the continent, but mainly in Italy, and almost equally in England; France and Germany appealed indefinitely less to him and left scarcely a trace upon his work. But with all these journeys and sojourns, there is a sense of his permanence in Cambridge. He married and his happy married life began there in the gentle old house where his life began. His children grew about him; then in one of their sojourns in Europe his wife died. He came home to Shady Hill and there, with the long summers at Ashfield and some brief visits to England, he aged slowly in his not essentially varied occupations of editorship, authorship, and professorship till after the ample leisure from them which he took, he died where he was born, like Lowell, the earliest loved among the men dear to him.

In these letters to such a variety of friends as few men

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have made of their acquaintance, there is an extraordinary equality from first to last. They keep from first to last the youthful affection which their appeal grows almost impatiently into. Whatever interest is in hand it becomes under his touch a tie of amity between him and each of his correspondents, and he does not seek to bind one more than another. The reader will not fail to note how almost unfailingly the letters are not only expressions of affection for his correspondent, but are like the older fashion of letters in being report and debate of the world's affairs, letters, politics, morals. They address themselves to very many of the most important and best-known men of our two countries of America and England on these terms; but to some obscurer yet not less important man they will have the same reach beyond the personal to the human interests. He could not sit down to talk with another, whether by the spoken or written word, without wishing to talk seriously, and he would make occasion for this, if he did not find it, though so much a man of the world as he would not force the talk beyond smallness if that were the measure of his interlocutor, but he would then make it brief as well as small. Some of his correspondents are dearer friends than others, but his constancy is the same for all; and his goodwill is promptly responsive to the good work of the obscurest beginner. Him, too, he tries to make his friend, his lover, and not for the time, but with enduring faithfulness to the bond established by his own kindness.

His letters express his nature better than any comment could, and it would not be useful to repeat from them in other terms the story of his life. But I should like to tell the story of my own acquaintance which his most hospitable spirit turned to friendship with him. It began more than fifty years ago with our meeting at the house of a friend to both in New York, when it appeared that he had been a lenient reader of those letters from Venice to the Boston *Advertiser* which were made soon afterward into *Venetian Life,* and the talk was lighted with the glow of love for Italy which was then so genial in Cambridge people. I knew him only as Lowell's associate in the editorship of The North American Review, but he suffered my young ignorance of his distinctive qualities with a patience which might well have been slightly ironical. When a few months later I went to live in Boston I found that my ignorance was not

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remembered against me. It was thought that I had best understand living in Boston as living in Cambridge for the greater advantage of my subeditorial work on the *Atlantic Monthly;* and Norton with his whole household joined in the search which developed the fact that there was not a house for me to be had in the whole university town. The era of expansion had not yet come to a place so temperamentally self-contained, though the great Civil War had been fought to the final effect of overbuilding everywhere else. For want of a roof over our heads in Cambridge we remained domiciled in Boston with a landlady whose enterprises extended to the quiescent real estate beyond the Charles. She had found a small house which she was beating down in price that she might buy it and sell it again at a price to be promptly put up; but the negotiations lagged. When Norton knew of the affair he said that he would put me in the way of buying it from the actual owner, and that he should have a particular pleasure in balking the deal. He indorsed my note on a second mortgage, and I took possession of the house which his help and the law's kindly fiction enabled me to feel I owned.

I suppose that with due reservations Norton liked my way of writing, but I think that I was personally acceptable to him and his when we became neighbors because I was still involved in that afterglow of Italy which I hope will never quite fade from my life. The moment was indeed superlatively fortunate for such a youthful Italianate as I, because it was the moment when Longfellow was submitting his translation of the " Divine Comedy " to the criticism of his friends, and I, unworthy, was counted among them. Norton, as I have elsewhere told, was of the chiefest and wisest; and when the last canto of the " Paradiso " had been read before them, and the last supper eaten, it was for every reason consoling to know that he was about undertaking a version of the " Vita Nuova." In his house at Shady Hill the criticisms and suppers were continued the following winter, and the sense of them is mystically mixed in me with that of the ghostly snows and moonless thaws through which one penetrated to the brightness and the cheer indoors. The paths that led to the friendly house were already known to me, but I had not learned to know them well before the family was away for the summer to Ashfield, and I frequented it most in the winters which still prevail in my re-

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membrance of it. Our own little pine box on the neighboring lane, and the Venetian palace we had so recently exchanged for it, were not less modern in some things. There was a furnace, but to the last there was neither gas nor electricity in the house at Shady Hill. A large moderator lamp, student lamps, and candles supplied the lighting, and the heating was mainly from the fires on the hearths. The most constant and abundant of these was that which warmed the large oblong study, where the books ranked from floor to ceiling on the eastern wall helped the pines without to keep the place against the cold. At the southern end of the room long windows opened to the floor; the northern reach of it was commonly shut off with its less used books and its table of prints and maps. Deep armchairs faced the fire; between it and the northward wall of books stretched the study-table with its orderly array of stationery and the latest books and such weekly reviews as *The Spectator* and *The Nation,* if there are other such. A very few pictures were hinged against the shelves of books; at the right of the fire the amplest wall space was filled by a rich canvas of Tintoretto. Here our critical circle had its meetings; and here, during the forty or fifty years that I knew him, at irregular but gradually lengthening intervals I saw the scholar who had known how to endear himself to my shyness by such graces of mind and heart as I have known in no other. In the evening there was the soft brightness of the lamp, and the cheer of guests and kindred; it was mostly the family, nearer and farther, that filled it with presences that one after another became absences. But somehow I associate the man and place with the light of the afternoons in which the fires of the hearth were paler than at night. It seems to me that this was his most characteristic time; it was still morning with me when he began to welcome me there, but it was already early afternoon with him; and at last it was the hour "between the dark and the daylight." He was never quite a young man to my sense, and from first to last I see him sitting in his deep chair before the fire, listening willingly, talking willingly, and tempering my own mostly too eager modernness with a sort of dissenting sympathy.

I shall not be able to recall incidents; there were not many incidents, and I am afraid that what I shall be able to offer in characterization of him cannot be consecutive and will

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not be definite. But I remember that when he came home after that long absence in Europe, with his life broken in two, and the half only left him to make of it what he could on earth, there was a distinct change in his religious belief; in his religion there was none and never could be, because religion was his nature, whatever he believed that he believed. When I first began to know him he had not yet left the old moorings of his faith; but held that Christianity dwelt in the four gospels and not satisfyingly elsewhere in the Bible. Now, I learned that he no longer accepted the Christianity of the four gospels. A few years later when we were once going up to Ashfield together we had a long talk about the old undying question, whether if a man died he should live again. He said that our notion of a future life was mainly from the Greeks who, rightly seeing in themselves such power and splendor of intellect, could not believe themselves of the same make as the beasts that perish, and out of this negation grew the affirmation of their immortality. He fully recognized the great civilizing and humanizing influence which this belief had been, in consenting that its rejection by mankind might mean a deluge of immorality sweeping the world under it; but at every risk and at every cost, he stood for the truth. Then again, after many years, I was once with him in his study, in the light of some pale afternoon, when he said, wearily, that he wished men could drop the whole affair, that since they never had found out and never could find out about it they would cease the useless and hopeless quest. He spoke severely, impatiently, as a man does when he condemns in himself the vice which he knows he shares with others.

But his make was essentially religious, Biblical, Puritanical, and, however he would have imagined himself Hellenic, he was in his heart Hebraic. That is, when he thought he was supremely loving beauty, he was supremely loving duty, the truth which is in beauty, and is inseparably one with it. We none of us make ourselves quite clear to others, however clear we are to ourselves, so when Norton in teaching about art seemed of necessity to renounce modern art, especially American art, he was keeping a reserve of kindliness for its possibilities, which he would most gladly enlarge to any hopeful instance of it, any expression of the spiritual beauty of art. At first hand I know nothing of his relations to the Harvard students whose devotion made him

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for twenty-five years the most conspicuous and influential of Harvard teachers. His point of view could not fail to be failed of by many; the many who did not fail of it altogether could not seize it perfectly. I fancy this may have been quite the case with those who meant to make practical use of his instruction, and not merely to avail themselves of so much culture as they should find in it. But the students who rebelled against the unsparing idealism could when they did something ideally good, be sure of his praise. They might talk violently against his precept, but if their practice paralleled it they could the more rejoice. I venture to think that his defect as a critic lay in his quality of prophet. From what he knew of past conditions and what he knew of present conditions he predicted the future; but no man can safely do that. This affected his vast influence when the student came to live by his doctrine; in generals his teaching might seem to inculcate despair, but when it came to particulars he was an unsurpassed critic. I can affirm this from my own experience. Instinctively I would have forborne to ask his advice about what I meant to do; but I went to him once with a thing I had done, my paper on Lowell, namely. He said it was a collection of sketches and not a portrait; he was kind enough to the sketches, but somehow they must be pulled together; then I wrote a final paragraph which I hoped and which he said did the work; and I have always felt myself indebted for his censure which made me save the day. But I remember another criticism of his which in a generality did the effect of a specific instance. I was once so taken with the poetic realism of Crabbe's *Tales* that I fancied doing some like studies of American life. Norton predicted that I could not because of the thinness, the poverty of the American background; and my experiment found it so.

Throughout my witness of his life, which was not constant, and I do not suppose was more intelligent than constant, I was often surprised by that specific hopefulness underlying his general despair. He would lament the state of our literature, but no man would greet more eagerly, more liberally any token of life, any fresh promise of beauty in it. His No, which came first, was qualified by the latent Yes which it was so apt to spell in the exceptional instances. It was not easy to hold out against him if he did not like the thing you liked and were defending; and he

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could be very penetratingly insistent when he wanted to make you think with him.

He was very inflexible concerning principles; he would have none of my doctrine that in equality was the only social righteousness and happiness; and I felt that in his relentless difference from me he was putting a strain on his unbroken kindness, which was all it could bear. I am not saying or meaning that he was an aristocrat, or was so much "a Tory in his nerves" as Lowell. With less profession of democracy he was quite as near a realization of it; he could not so much as Lowell love the common or commoner man for his humorous originality, but he could as truly fellowship what was good in him. I cannot claim that I knew him very well on this side, but it appeared to me that there was light on it in the passionate regret with which a very common man spoke of his death to me on the sunny bench in the Public Garden the day after he died. I wish I could remember the words; they implied and revealed a brotherly relation to such men which I had not imagined of him. Such men, common men, are not so hard to be brother to as those poor in taste whom we call vulgar; yet even with these he could be tender, as he could also be severe where severity was better for them. I suppose if it had ever come to a definition of the disappointment with America which he undoubtedly felt, and had sore cause to feel, he would have blamed the vulgar and not the common for it; for the common there was always hope and future; for the vulgar none. I am not offering these as his words or his ideas, and I should not feel justified in attributing to him a preference for any order of things above ours. Of all other orders he praised the English order most; he was often lifted by a high enthusiasm for its possibilities of good. His friendship with the best sort of Englishman kept his love of their order alive, yet once when he had spoken glowingly of England and I asked him, "Well, after all, if you could change, would you rather have been an Englishman than an American?" he answered, "No, if I could choose I would rather have been American," as if here was still the world's home of Opportunity. In a letter to that very remarkable student of our life, J. B. Harrison, whom Norton loved and befriended as long as he lived, he wrote:

I agree with your view of the character of our people, but it makes me less despondent than it seems to make you. I do not wonder at their

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triviality, their shallowness, their materialism. I rather wonder that, considering their evolution and actual circumstances, they are not worse. Here are sixty or seventy millions of people of whom all but a comparatively small fraction have come up, within two or three generations, from the lower orders of society. They belong by descent to the oppressed from the beginning of history, to the ignorant, to the servile class or to the peasantry. They have no traditions of intellectual life, no power of sustained thought, no developed reasoning faculty. But they constitute on the whole as good a community on a large scale as the world has ever seen. Low as their standards may be, yet taken in the mass they are higher than so many millions of men ever previously attained. They are seeking material comfort in a brutal way, and securing in large measure what they seek, but they are not inclined to open robbery or cruel extortion. On the whole they mean "to do about right." I marvel at their self-restraint. That they are getting themselves and us all into dangerous difficulties is clear, but I believe they will somehow, with a good deal of needless suffering, continue to stumble along without great catastrophe.

He saw the America of his ideal still practicable, and however she disappointed him, he could not leave to love her, though doubtless if she could have been sensibly personified to him he would have told her some home truths that would have done her good. His greatest disappointment of all was the outbreak of the War with Spain, which he regarded as a denial of the faith that had been in us, and a return to the barbarism of violence, an abandonment of our moral primacy among the nations, and a devotion of our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to a needless conflict. He did not forbear an instant expression of abhorrence, or later a more studied expression of his condemnation; and he took not without pain, but not also not without a smile of contempt, the brutal obloquy which followed from the chauvanism then imagining itself patriotism, and assuming the office of judge and executioner toward those of different feeling or thinking. In his position concerning that war he was consistent with his life-long thinking and feeling concerning all wars, and especially American wars. Until I read some letters here printed I had not supposed in him the constant detestation of slavery which they reveal and the eagerness with which he joined in the first practicable resistance of its aggressions; I should rather, from his social conditioning, have imagined in him the fine old Whiggery of the best Boston families which outlived itself in useless endeavors to reconcile right and wrong. But these letters glow with generous enthusiasm for the right and class him with such thoroughgoing patriots as Lowell and the other great New-England-

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ers who foresaw that they must needs oppose the pro-slavery policy to the death. They all hated war as much as they hated slavery, but when the war against slavery came they hallowed it in their hearts and souls.

I am not sure whether Norton ever doubted its holiness; but I fancy that in proportion to his reverence for the Civil War was his repugnance for the Spanish War. I, too, detested the Spanish War, for the same reasons as I thought his, and for those reasons I detested even more the far wickeder Boer War waged by the mightiest Empire in the world against two little Republics in its greed for their gold. I chanced to be at Norton's house when the news of the final great reverse of the Boers came, and to my stupefaction I heard him accepting it as the best thing that could happen. I never quite understood the logic of his preference, and I cannot say now whether he thought it better for the Empire to win sooner, because in the unequal struggle the Republics must sooner or later lose, and it was always well to stop bloodshed; or whether he believed the Empire had the juster cause and ought to win; or whether, as between England and any people but ourselves, his heart must be with England, though I do not believe his head would.

Norton was in most things so entirely reasonable, so sane, so just, that I am not sure but I have an unworthy satisfaction in noting this exception to his prevalent mood. My sense of an instance so concrete enables me to realize that through some such aberration from the severe logic of his life he could forgive illogicalities in me. I remember with what a smiling desperation he heard me say that I was going to vote for Blaine when he and most others of the best men I knew were going to vote for Cleveland. To the last I suspect that he had to forgive in me deflections from the notion he had formed of me. Every year, as I hope I may say without unseemly boasting, his affection had grown more demonstrative. I was the latest if least citizen of the world which he had known for great and beautiful, that wonderful Cambridge world of poets and scholars which many centuries will not see again. What part of it he had been himself I must let Time, which has all eternity for it, decide; but what he was he had largely made himself by his affection for his fellow-men, or, more specifically, his fellow literary men.

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In him I long saw the last of the great group of Cambridge men whom I was privileged to know almost in their prime, or a little past it when humanity is in its autumnal richness and ripeness. In my mid-Western remoteness I knew these men only very dimly before it was my good fortune to be among them as I never could be of them. I did not well imagine them there, qualitatively or quantitatively, or scarcely afterward in my Venetian remoteness. The man whom I was destined to see survive them all was, as I have owned, not of my surmise even when I had come to live in New York, and I was to feel his unstinted kindness much before I could appreciate his wisdom. He loved that beautiful and righteous world in which he dwelt; he truly measured it in all its dimensions, and in his tender memories of it he did not exaggerate its importance. He had known more intimately than any of the others the English world of poets and scholars, and I am sensible now of delicate cautions rather than criticisms which from the first might well have been for the instruction of my enthusiasm. But this beautiful and righteous world was his home, and they who shared it with him were his kindred. He was the youngest of the group; the years counted ten between him and Lowell, and twenty between him and Longfellow; after they were gone he grew into contemporaneity with them, and then into a seniority which could judge them paternally, as the present can always judge the past. But in him, beyond other men, the child was father of the man, and his relation to his fellow-citizens of that ideal commonwealth was filial as well as paternal. I think that his sense was not only the just measure of it, but was also the perception of its significance in contrast with the vast, sprawling, unwieldy Republic of Letters and Laws which has replaced it. He would not, perhaps, and perhaps he could not, for many reasons, fully impart the image of it which was in his mind; but all the same it is a pity, whether he would not or could not.

He was an idealist whom his strong common sense bound to daily duty. With that dialectic of despair which many mistakenly imagined was his working hypothesis, he had a practical wisdom which was radiant with welcome for any good thing done or said. Although he had been so often disappointed, I do not believe he ever ceased to expect beautiful and true things from the

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future which he was so apt to deny any promise. I suppose he mainly had his pleasure in the past, but even there he was not self-indulgent, and would have owned that the conditioning of its beauty and even its goodness was often hideous. I never heard him dwell upon any time of it with the affection which he once showed in speaking of that joyous time in New England between the first and third quarters of the nineteenth century when life wore such a hopeful look for all sorts and conditions of men, and even women, that the millennium was more imaginable than it ever was before or has been since. He painted the hopeful mood of that time with a tenderness which his smile for its fatuity did not mock; he rather held it dearer for that, like the error of a child dreaming the world as wholly beautiful and good as it looked on some June morning. His words cannot be reported now, and I wish he had set them down himself. Then from his perfect understanding of New England idealism we should understand how ideally of New England he was. No one else could make us understand that.

He was himself the expression, the impersonation of its most hospitable spirit. He never failed to meet the friends to whom he had once given his love and trust with the same welcoming smile as at the first giving. His love and trust had not to be conquered from him; they were given, if given at all, eagerly, and never, unless for cause reluctantly recognized, withdrawn. In this spontaneity, this impulsiveness (a word that will seem strange concerning him to a very common mistakenness) he remained young; but I saw him grow into the outward likeness of an old man, a little more bent, year by year, but resolutely keeping his delicate frame to its work by the strength of what I suppose he would not have allowed me to call his soul, and so I will say, by the strength of his unaging mind. He was, like Lowell, loath to grow old, not like Lowell, humorously, boyishly, but very seriously, and anxious to guard himself from senile severity in his judgments. "I hope I don't say this because I am getting old," he once said in condemning some odious new aspect of our American life. When he resigned his chair in Harvard, he had arrived at that time of life when he would willingly rest and he enjoyed with amusement the spectacle of my continued activities. I said that the notion of leaving off work dismayed me, and "Oh, you will come to it," he answered, smiling and drawing through his fine

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scholar-hand the velvety ears of the dachshund on his knee.

It was one of those sunny afternoons of spring or of fall, which are sometimes so alike in their tender light, when in my comings and goings through Boston I could run out to Cambridge for an hour's talk over the state of the New York literary world as I knew it from my proximity to authors and editors. He still kept an open mind for the improbable possibilities of good work in any art, and he took the interest of abiding youth in anything well done, or even only promisingly done. I suppose most people would not call him an optimist or me a pessimist, but I believe that he liked more of the recent things than I did, and though he was ten years older than I, he was, by his birthright from that ever-youthful New England of his nativity, a younger man. We talked that afternoon in the cool light of the vernal or autumnal day, with the fire on his hearth paling under it, and I should like to leave him in it there, among his pictures and his books, the equal lover of all the beautiful arts.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.

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GEORGE SAND

A LAW UNTO HERSELF

BY FLORENCE LEFTWICH RAVENEL

"THE word genius, when once it has been uttered with respect to a woman, seems straightway to draw upon her the eyes of all mankind—and not without reason. For a woman of genius—even if her claims be not universally acknowledged, is yet too rare an apparition in our world not to deserve our closest attention." So speaks a modern Frenchwoman of distinction—herself a critic, and a keen observer of womankind. And the truth which her words express would be sufficient warrant, I think, for reopening from time to time the famous case of George Sand—even if men's knowledge of the great Frenchwoman were far more adequate than we can hope to find it—at least among those of English race and tradition.

About ten years ago there appeared in the pages of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW an article by Mr. Henry James, the occasion of which was the publication of the first volumes of Mme. Wladimir Karénine's life of George Sand. The essay is an excellent example of Mr. James's critical method. Insinuating, pervasive, enveloping, his light, cool touch does yet seem to lay bare the "very pulse of the machine"—as he disentangles all the weighty confusion of this curiously Russian presentation, and disengages and sets in high relief the always interesting, still enigmatical figure of the heroine, as she appears to him. It is scarcely necessary to add, however, that this image which he so wonderfully evokes is not, in all respects, the George Sand of Mme. Karénine, nor of the accepted tradition. By some strange warping, or limitation of vision, Mr. James sees in her everything that is anomalous, exotic, fascinating—everything, indeed, except a soul. The "levity" which he

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commends as a favorable mood in which to approach the great Phenomenon has its place, perhaps, in the treatment of some episodes of her adventurous youth. These do sometimes fall, as he says, "into the hands of 'high comedy.'" But the generous, high-hearted enthusiasms of her maturer years, her words of eloquent and irreconcilable protest against oppression and injustice in all their forms—these are the most constant and significant manifestations of George Sand's genius; and any interpretation which fails to take account of these in its final estimate leaves the riddle darker than before.

Out of the peace and the silence which only death and time can bring there is emerging at last the vision of a great spirit—one so wide in its range of thought and feeling, so strong in its grasp upon the world and human life, so rich in its capacity for joy and sorrow, for love and pity, that after all the rules and measures that serve to define average men and women have been stretched to their utmost, we are still asking, bewildered: "Whereunto shall we liken this woman, and with what comparison shall we compare her?"

After an interval of ten years, the third volume of Mme. Karénine's *Life* has at last appeared, covering the years between 1836 and 1846, and freighted with a wealth of fresh information, of new documents, and hitherto unpublished correspondence. Mme. Karénine has given her life to this work, and it is, even in its present unfinished state, a monumental achievement, unique both in its merits and in its defects. Nothing save an intimate conviction that she has here to do with one of the great leaders and spiritual forces of all time could justify the infinite pains, the microscopic detail with which Mme. Karénine has pursued her researches. The ordeal is severe; that George Sand comes out of it so little scathed is at least as much to her own credit as to that of her biographer.

Within the last twenty years several eminent Frenchmen also have spoken their word—eloquent, severe, witty, or enthusiastic—about George Sand; and yet that tribute to which we return oftenest and with the deepest sense of inner satisfaction is not French, but was written more than thirty years ago, by that great Englishman whom we may well call the "Master of us all"—by Matthew Arnold:

"It is silent, that eloquent voice; it is sunk, that noble,

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that speaking head. We sum up as we best can what she said to us and we bid her adieu. From many hearts in many lands a troop of tender and grateful regrets converge toward the humble churchyard in Berry. Let them be joined by these words of sad homage from one of a nation which she esteemed and which knew her very little and very ill. Her guiding thought, which she did her best to make ours too, 'the sentiment of the ideal life, which is none other than man's normal life as we shall one day know it,' is in harmony with words and promises familiar to that sacred spot where she lies. She looks for the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come."

But the mind of the Critic is proverbially unstable and no mortal glory is safe. In a recent issue of a prominent *Review* occurs the following trenchant paragraph conceived in the very spirit of the Philistine and the muckraker.

"Nothing can make a life of George Sand decent reading. Despite the extraordinary opulence, the extravagance of her nature, she was a light woman—of light brain and very light morals. Her will-o'-the-wisp love affairs are as unsavory reading as one can find. Her genius, such as it was, cannot make up for the radical coarseness of her mind!"

No, no, Sir Critic! That will never do! The answer is not—it never can be—so easy, obvious, and one-sided as that!

But what, pray, *was* this woman, about whom from the beginning men's judgments have differed so widely? How can one life, one personality, admit of interpretations so divergent?

Amandine Lucie Aurore Dupin came into the world in Paris, July 1, 1804. She had a bad inheritance—a family history which savors rather of some chapter of Greek Mythology than of the decorous restraint of a Parish Register or the fly-leaf of a family Bible. Her genealogy takes extraordinary leaps across the map of Europe and runs up and down the social scale with startling agility. Her great-great-grandfather on her father's side was King Augustus the Strong of Poland, a monarch whose immorality was literally Olympian and who counted his unauthorized offspring actually by the hundred. Her great-grandfather, Maurice of Saxony, the victor of Fonteroy, was a great general and a great lover, and he left among the débris and wreckage of

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his brilliant career a certain little daughter, Marie Aurore, called de Saxe, whom he intrusted at his death to the tender mercies of the Dauphiness, daughter-in-law of Louis XV., her first cousin in blood though not in law. This little girl was a strange, unique apparition in that turbulent strain—a sort of truce or breathing-space between the generations of strong, passionate, sensual men and women past and to come. Marie Aurore de Saxe grew up amid influences well fitted to corrupt the most innocent heart, but her life—full of vicissitudes as it was—was absolutely without adventure. An unlucky first marriage was immediately annulled, and for good cause, and at the age of thirty-three the young widow married, from motives of friendship and esteem, M. Dupin de Francueil, a man much older than herself. Maurice, her only son, was the father of George Sand.

As Mme. Dupin's son was her one great love, so his unfortunate marriage was her supreme sorrow, the one from which, to her life's end, other sorrows never ceased to flow. To the young soldier who followed Napoleon in his early campaigns, it might well seem that all the kingdoms of the earth were to be had for the taking. All around him he saw thrones and dominions played with like pieces on a chessboard. What did it matter, then, whether he wedded a queen or a beggar maid, since it was for his valor to win her a title or a crown? Even so it is still hard to understand how Maurice Dupin, the son of his mother, could have allowed his long connection with Sophie Victoire Delaborde—a mere waif of the Paris streets—to drift into a legal marriage.

Amid all these chronicles of irregular origin, we have a positive satisfaction in knowing that Aurore Dupin was born with a right to her name. But it was, without doubt, an ill-starred marriage. Sophie Victoire was very far from exemplary in any relation, and when Maurice was dead and the one little girl was left between the mother and grandmother, the scarcely repressed hostility between the two women, and her own passionate espousal of her mother's cause, combined to create a most unwholesome atmosphere for the rearing of any young creature, especially of one exceptionally impressionable like Aurore.

This state of tension could not last. When the crisis came, Sophie, in high dudgeon, betook herself to the metropolis, and Aurore, still rebellious, though crushed by the sudden

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revelation of her mother's history, was hurriedly transferred to a popular convent school in Paris. This change was wholly beneficial. For three years the little girl worked and played—a child again among children—in surroundings more normal than the solitude or melancholy tête-à-tête of Nohant. Her magic touch has revivified all the phases and aspects of this convent life and her own part in it, from her early "bad eminence" as ringleader in all the escapades of her schoolmates to the climax of her sensational conversion, which brought her to the end of her school days in a mood of saintly detachment from earth and of meek resignation to the opposition which her supposed vocation to the cloister was certain to meet.

But the world with its seductive promises, its perennial fascination, was waiting for Aurore at the convent gates, and her calling to the spiritual life died away. Her grandmother's death, with all the ensuing changes and formalities, brought her face to face once more with her mother—dear to her still, though no longer the object of her unreasoning adoration.

And then began for this convent-bred girl, with her grandmother's maxims still ringing in her ears, a period of embarrassment and discomfort hard to exaggerate. Her mother's worse than questionable manner of life, her recklessness and irresponsibility, quickly made the situation impossible, and, from the French point of view, there was only one honorable way of escape—marriage.

In 1822 Aurore was eighteen years old; not a beauty, scarcely even a pretty girl, but still with a fair share of feminine attractions. Her portraits, painted about this time, are conventional in the extreme. They show a still slender, rounded figure, a full face with the regulation fall of ringlets, features regular but a trifle inclined to heaviness, and very large, dark eyes as nearly as possible without expression: brooding, solemn, mysterious eyes, still unawakened like the girl's soul; and there was no prophet at hand to utter a warning of the smoldering fires hidden in each! Evidently there was nothing for it but a husband—the Frenchman's sovereign remedy for the vagaries, agitations, and dangers of girlhood; and as a husband there was, it appeared, only one eligible aspirant. Casimir Dudevant was young too, and of tolerably good position and prospects. In person and manners he was not disagreeable, and

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Aurore (poor child!) was especially pleased with his studied moderation and reasonableness during the season of courtship. He seemed well fitted to be to her a good comrade and, chiefly, a refuge from the perplexities of her unprotected youth.

Everybody knows that this marriage was a failure. Husband and wife had nothing but youth in common. We may even spare some measure of compassion for Casimir himself. No doubt he was a poor creature—what Matthew Arnold calls the "average sensual man"—without delicacy and without principle, as unfit to administer his wife's fortune as to appreciate her gifts. Nevertheless, Fate played a cruel trick upon this mean and common man in mating him with a genius. When the inevitable separation came to pass perhaps no one regretted it less than he.

But here is the parting of the ways. On the one side, Aurore Dudevant, unhappy, restless, vaguely dissatisfied with a world in which she seemed to have no part or lot, but still irreproachable and still unaware of the forces latent in her heart and brain. On the other side is George Sand, the woman of genius, gradually awakening to the consciousness of herself and all her powers, and beginning to pour forth a succession of novels, stories, journals, plays, essays, pamphlets, and letters, to the wonder and delight—and also, sometimes, the scandal—of the world. And she awoke, too, to the tempestuous depths of her own nature, to the passion and tumult which lay hidden beneath the sluggish surface of her soul. That deliverance from social tyranny, that freedom and scope for the unchecked expansion of the whole being—from henceforth she claimed it for all mankind, and first of all for herself.

It seems incredible that less than a century has passed since George Sand made her momentous pilgrimage to Paris to seek her fortune. It was the year 1831, the flowering season of the Romantic movement. The uneven streets of the old city, worn by so many generations of urgent, seeking feet, were trodden now by a band of impressive youths with flowing hair and beards, and long, full-skirted, flopping coats, which draped them picturesquely down to the heels. Their descendants still haunt the shady *allées* of the Luxembourg and the *cafés* of the Boulevard St.-Michel—but with a difference. For certain of those young men of 1831 answered to the names of Victor Hugo, Alfred de Musset,

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Ste.-Beuve, Théophile Gautier. We shall not look upon their like again. And of this glorious company Aurore Dudevant was now to be one—even down to the trousers, the flopping coat, the swagger, and the cigarette!

We cannot deny that this woman was intoxicated with her freedom. Her splendid physical organization in the full vigor of her youth, her long-thwarted desire for experience, for life in its fullness, all conspired to bewilder and betray her judgment. But it was not this alone, nor alone her instincts inherited from a lawless race. George Sand accepted—she helped to formulate, indeed—that first article of the Romantic creed which taught the divinity of Passion—spelled, if you please, with a capital P.

M. E. Caro, perhaps the most serious, temperate, and adequate of George Sand's modern critics, has said that a complete lack of resignation—that little humble Christian virtue—was a fundamental defect of this richly dowered nature. May we not go deeper yet and say that her greatest fault was *pride?* That humility which springs inevitably from self-knowledge she never knew. Hence her impatience of restraint, her extravagant demands upon life, her exaggerated estimate of the claim of her individual soul as against law and tradition; hence, too, her overweening self-confidence, and the absence of self-reproach which gives a tone of superficiality to her sincerest self-revelations.

And what then shall we say of this period of her life, that extended, roughly speaking, over fifteen years? If it were with Goethe or Byron that we had to do, we should call this her season of storm and stress, and should wait, disapproving, yet with tolerable serenity, for the sowing of wild oats to come to its natural end. But she was not Goethe; she was not Byron; she was a woman. It is not, after all, the same thing.

How was it, then, that amid so much that was evil and impure, throughout the strange tragi-comedy of her many love affairs, succeeding one another with so disconcerting a rapidity—how was it, I ask, that her nature was not utterly demoralized and depraved? How could her ideals fail of degradation and final suffocation in the mire? But such was *not* the fact; George Sand did not deteriorate mentally or morally, parodoxical as this may seem; and it is here that our traditional code falls short and we must have recourse to a deeper, more fundamental law.

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No, we will not give to the man and woman of genius a revised version of the Ten Commandments, but we may, perhaps, in return for all their gifts to us, grant them the privilege of individual hearings. If, on the one hand, we dare not forget the height from which they fall, nor the multitudes that they may have dragged with them in their collapse, we will give due weight, on the other, to the force of their temptations, and also to those extraordinary powers of recuperation and rehabilitation that may belong to their exceptional endowment.

George Sand's astonishing power of reaction and rebound, as well as that slow but steady process of self-regeneration which worked itself out in her career, were due in great part to the unparalleled vigor of her organization—the unequaled energy and vitality which were hers by inheritance. Disappointed she might be, disenchanted again and again, but it was always with the lover, never with love. To the end she believed with unshaken sincerity in love's divine mission to redeem and uplift the children of men, and her idealizing fancy clothed each new idol with the glory of the true gods. A selfish form of idealism, we must admit, and yet this perennial spontaneity and freshness of emotion are possible only to opulent, richly gifted natures like hers —let us acknowledge it with grateful humility. They are one proof the more of that interdependence of flesh and spirit against which we—poor birds of time that we are—beat our wings in vain revolt.

Nevertheless, looked at with our older and colder eyes, that most famous episode of her youth, her affair with Alfred de Musset, must appear scarcely worthy of its legendary fame. Mr. Henry James has called attention, with his usual acuteness, to the curious inconsistency of immortalizing by analogies to Romeo and Juliet, or Abélard and Héloise, a relation which was begun and ended in less than two years. Yes, the first reluctant acquaintance, the rapturous prelude and the flight to Venice; then, in swift succession, the first disagreement and rupture; de Musset's sudden alarming illness, when George Sand, all grievances forgotten, nursed him with all a mother's care and devotion; the disconcerting apparition of the young Italian doctor—jealousy, parting, temporary reconciliation, and final break—all within eighteen months. It *was* quick work, even with our American standards of swiftness.

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And yet, we know that life is not at all times to be measured by hours or days. The heights and depths of those two natures were sounded in that brief season. If one of them outlived and, to a certain extent, outgrew the consequences of that experience, the other never did. To it we owe not only some of George Sand's most eloquent and poignant pages, but—what is perhaps of greater import—the full and perfect expression of Alfred de Musset's unique and original talent: a little vein of the purest and most personal, the sincerest and most inevitable poetry that I know in any age or language. And for him this experience was supreme and final. He had many " affairs " after as before, but only this one love. She was the sole reality of his life, and after she had gone out of it he moved as " one that walketh in a vain show."

We are still so deeply tinged with George Sand's own romanticism that we should probably have admired her more had she, too, faded, pined, and died like some fragile creature of her own romance. She was not of the sort that dies. Her grief and despondency were sincere and deep. Since Sappho loved and sang, no woman has sounded a more tragic note of despairing passion than echoes in some of the fragmentary letters to de Musset that remain. But she recovered, she rallied from her depression and turned her face resolutely toward life and the future. And now, as always, literature was to be to her the one sure refuge from despair and perhaps madness, as well as against the more sordid miseries of poverty and dependence.

Whatever of the Bohemian she might boast, she was thoroughly *bourgeoise* in her capacity for steady and systematic work. In Venice, watching by the bedside of de Musset, in the intervals of his attacks of delirium; in her little apartment on the Quai Malaquais, with her baby Solange playing at her feet; at Nohant with her large heterogeneous household looking to her, depending on her—everywhere, the regular daily, weekly output was maintained. And this was not a mere eccentricity of genius, but a matter of stern need. Even after she had secured her divorce and made good her claim to the guardianship of her children, the allowance granted her by her husband (out of her own fortune, by the way), was absurdly inadequate for their support.

Of all the aspects and phases of this extraordinary per-

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sonality, there is none so wonderful as George Sand's literary career. In 1829 the story-telling gifts of her school-days had lain unused, half-forgotten perhaps for years. Yet lo! not only has she lost nothing, but her powers spring, as it were by magic, to their ripe maturity! And her style—flexible, abundant, graceful, picturesque—her technique, her mastery of all the resources and subtleties of her instrument—that this should reach at a bound, without fumbling, almost without apprenticeship, its full-grown perfection, wellnigh passes belief! Yet so it was; her first independent novels, *Indiana, Valentine,* are as characteristically her workmanship as anything she wrote at the height of her fame. Instinct, with her, was continually overtaking, outrunning the slow processes of experience and time.

But remembering the anguish and travail of spirit through which most people—even thoughtful and cultivated people—attain to anything approaching literary form, it is with eyes of incredulous envy that we look upon this unlessoned girl, whose custom it was, we are told, to sit down to her writing when the night was already far spent, and rise up only when the first white streaks of dawn fell across her page. The fair, smooth, uncorrected page—of *Valentine,* for example, with its enchanting woodland scenes, amid which young passion seems to spring and blossom by the same divine, inevitable law that wakes the cold earth from her winter sleep and decks the wild hawthorn with beauty and sweetness; Youth calling to Youth with a voice that will not be gainsaid. This was to be always the dominant note, as we know; this the great central theme upon which her idealizing fancy wrought with an infinite richness and variety of tone and expression to the end of her life. It is still the same, though we hear it now floating across the starlit lagoons of Venice, mingled with boatmen's careless songs and the lapping of water against marble steps; or breaking the solemn white silence of Alpine glaciers, or rising from the moonless depths of some haunted pool deep-hidden in the forests of Berry.

To one who knows George Sand but a little, her inspiration seems as various as are the settings of her tales; she moves from grave to gay, from tragedy to idyl, with the ease of Life itself. But to all who know her well, it has been revealed that she speaks but one language, brings but one message, has felt the heat of but one kindling and illuminating

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flame. And we have no other name for it than *love*. Hackneyed as it is, soiled by a thousand sordid contacts, and associations base or trivial, it is as yet the only word.

In youth, as we know, it was the personal passion; the blind and ruthless claiming of the heart's desire, the absorption of all the powers of being in the life of another. Nowhere else surely in French letters have young love's ecstasy and young love's despair found an utterance so large and free, so vibrant with eloquent sincerity. If enthusiasm, if poetic fervor and strong emotional appeal could move us from our ancient moorings, *Jacques, Lélia,* must inevitably sweep us out to sea.

The success of these early romances was immediate, unqualified, overwhelming. The world was at the feet of the Sybil. As M. Doumic has said: "Thenceforth, to all these masculine tones which had arisen to call life accursed, there was added the voice of a woman, and lo! it rose clearer and stronger than all the rest." The twentieth century, long wonted to the performance of a full feminine chorus, bravely and strenuously carrying all the parts, cannot without a certain effort return to the experience of that earlier world, in which, for so many years, without prelude and without accompaniment, the great Prima Donna so splendidly filled the stage.

But life went on, and in its middle years Time laid a quieting hand upon the undisciplined heart—not to chill nor to harden, but only to steady its too tumultuous throbbing; that her eyes, cleared at last of the mists of passion and desire, might look out upon the world, the striving, sorrowful, inarticulate world; that she might feel upon her strong shoulders the burden of humanity.

And now for many years—for the rest of her life, indeed—George Sand was to be the organ of various socialistic and so-called "Humanitarian" sects and systems. With all her old eloquence and impassioned conviction, she was to preach the new gospel, whether men would hear or whether they would forbear. As early as 1837 we begin to see in her writings distinct signs of transition—of a shifting of the center of gravity. *Mauprat* is indeed a love tale; but here the barriers which love breaks down are not those of law and caste and prejudice, but the far deeper and more fatal obstacles of selfish pride, arrogance, and passion. And these lovers move no longer in a shadowy region of tropical

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islands and Alpine snows. Mauprat and Edmée dwell among their fellows in a very real provincial France, just before the Revolution, and they breathe an atmosphere already charged with the great ideas "Liberty, equality, fraternity."

It was a part of George Sand's femininity that she could not stand or go alone. She must have always both a cause and a hero. But among all her leaders and inspirers (and in her day their name in France was legion) there was only one man of first-rate importance, and that was the Abbé Lamennais, heretic, and excommunicate, whose very radical theories of Christian Socialism were supported by the prestige of his great literary talents, as well as of his blameless and devoted life. Many of the chief thinkers of the time were counted among his converts, and upon George Sand his influence was decisive and permanent. The inherent injustice of the old order, in both church and state, the nobleness of labor and the great mission of art and science in the regeneration of the world—these were Lamennais's chief teachings, and they were to appear in various settings and combinations in many of her later works.

Was there some radical defect in the theories then in the air, or was it rather that George Sand failed completely to assimilate them? Certain it is that her pamphlets and articles, and even her so-called Humanitarian novels—*Spiridion, Consuelo,* and the rest—are comparatively ineffective, both as literature and as teaching. Not only is her inspiration, as it were, divided, but her conception of the great reforms to be accomplished has more of enthusiasm than of enlightenment.

And in spite of all her faith and devotion, the millennium did not come. The Revolution, followed by the Republic of 1848, seemed at first destined to realize her most cherished hopes and ideals, but the political intrigues, insurrection, and finally civil war, which followed quickly in its train, were to her the bitterest grief and disenchantment. So many lives sacrificed, and the Golden Age—the reign of Equality—no nearer than before! She was persuaded at last that "the Lord was not in the whirlwind," and with an impulse of strong revulsion she turned away from men and from movements back to the things she knew with the deep, sure knowledge of the affections. The so-called Pastoral romances of her third period are few in number and small in

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compass. They are not, I must admit, an adequate culmination of a genius which seemed, in its beginning, to portend an almost superhuman achievement. But, slight as they are, those three or four idyls—*La Mare au Diable, François le Champi, Les Maîtres Sonneurs,* and *La petite Fadette*—are none the less masterpieces, and masterpieces in a *genre* which George Sand originated and in which she has never been approached. Here, for the first time, these peasant folk are depicted, not from the outside by a condescending superior, but from within, by one who knew and loved them well enough to speak their language and think their thoughts, and yet, by the magic of her art, to lift their humble lives into the region of the ideal. They are very close to earth, those rugged figures. They have the large lines, the quiet coloring, the low relief of the Berry landscape, and they are now as much a part of it as were the mythical inhabitants of Grecian hill and stream and valley in the olden days.

The last twenty years of George Sand's life was a period of calm, of domestic peace and content. She lived for the most part at Nohant, with shorter and shorter intervals in Paris and abroad. Her beloved son, Maurice, was her inseparable companion, and later his gentle wife and their two little girls came to brighten and sweeten her days. She still wrote indefatigably, though the urgent need had ceased; and more and more as the century progressed, Nohant came to be a place of pilgrimage for the younger generation of writers that were growing up in France and elsewhere. The complete absence of arrogance, of vanity or literary snobbishness that always distinguished George Sand made her the most generous and encouraging of critics.

But her correspondence is undoubtedly the most important literary activity of her later years. As a channel for self-revelation there is nothing, I believe, so sure as the familiar letter—journals, autobiographies, confessions, can be, and usually are, edited and arranged at pleasure; but the letters, written without premeditation, from day to day, to all sorts and conditions of men, are an almost infallible index to the soul and life of the writer. Nobly indeed does George Sand emerge from the ordeal of all these many hundreds of pages. Her long exchange of letters with Gustave Flaubert shows us how wise and kind, how generous and tolerant, how sane and penetrating, had grown that

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spirit in which the storms of passion had once so furiously raged.

Perhaps, however, it is in her letters to her daughter Solange that this woman strikes the deepest, saddest note in all her wonderful range. This mysterious, wayward, fascinating daughter of George Sand! She was of that second generation of Romanticists of whom we know too little. She had all the infinite craving, the vague discontent, the ruthless self-absorption of the great period. But the believing heart had gone from her. In her, enthusiasm was checked by a counter-current of skepticism, of cynical mockery and self-contempt. Or, may it not be that her chronic disillusionment and incurable *ennui* were but the long backward swing of the pendulum from her mother's impetuous, idolatrous youth? Who shall say? And who, listening for the limping foot of justice on the track of an erring mortal—who shall say that George Sand's own daughter was not her mother's severe and sufficient punishment on earth?

In summing up his impressions of George Sand after his visit to her at Nohant, Balzac would seek to explain all the contradictions and inconsistencies of her complex personality by affirming that she was "as little a woman as possible," and in this formula Mr. Henry James sees the best solution of the problem. These are great authorities, but I venture to dissent from both. George Sand's masculinity was for the most part in trifles—an affair of cigarettes and waistcoats. The secret of her strength, as of her weakness, is that she was as *much* as possible a woman. It was her womanhood, with its contempt of limitations, its demand of the unattainable, that sometimes, as in the Venetian episode, betrayed her into situations which any man, at all approaching her in ability and honesty of purpose, would have avoided, as it were, by instinct. Much as she loved and sought ideas, she was never really at home in the region of pure intellect. Her ripe wisdom, her inspired good sense, were always overshadowed by her compassionate sympathy with her fellow-men. More fundamental than all those socialistic theories which from time to time carried her away, she attained, in her maturer years, to that spirit of true Democracy, found oftener, I think, in women than in men—a sobering sense of the great, dignified, elemental things that all men have in common—birth, love, suffering, and death.

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George Sand has been dead for thirty-six years. The reticence and secrecy dictated by consideration for the feelings of the living is called for no longer. In 1904, on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of her birth, much new light, from sources hitherto inaccessible, was thrown upon certain vexed problems and unanswered questions of her life. It is gratifying to observe that, under the closest scrutiny, the integrity, sincerity, and disinterestedness of her character do but emerge the clearer and the more admirable. On the other hand, it appears that her books are read less and less as the years go by, and, oddly enough, it is those very works whose appeal to her contemporaries was strongest that have most completely lost their hold upon us. With the exception of half a dozen volumes, retained as classics in the programmes of colleges and schools, the dust gathers undisturbed upon the long rows of books that bear her name. Strange and oft-repeated record of a woman's glory! Can it be that there is a supreme liberation of the spirit from the bond of the flesh—from our perishable mortal part; a final detachment, possible indeed to one man among a million, but of which the woman's nature eternally falls short?

The revival of interest which the centenary of George Sand's birth has evoked, and the consequent revision of judgment concerning her, is not without a message for us, as it suggests a reflection which may one day have a broader application. Whatever be the rule as to the fame of great women in general, this, the greatest woman of her time, will not, it appears, go down to future generations as the author of any consummate work of the creative imagination. If she is to take her place among the Immortals—and on this point it is still too early to hazard a prediction—it will be rather because of what she was in herself: a power, an influence, conveyed to us partially by her books, but more fully by her reflection in the minds and lives of others—the image of a generous, richly endowed, and beneficent human being, who in her passage through the world shed around her an atmosphere of healing and consolation, of hope and inspiration upon a great multitude of disinherited and discouraged sons of earth.

FLORENCE LEFTWICH RAVENEL.

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OUR LITERARY CONVENTIONS

BY LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX

"To-morrow has no more to say
To yesterday."

So chanted Mr. Swinburne succinctly at the close of a twelve-paged poem in which a lover copiously explains to his lady that love is of the moment and bends to the fluctuant tide of life. No utterance could be more appropriate to the state of modern literature; if, indeed, literature be not already a thing of the past and that which sometimes borrows the name be not mere current, casual, or forced utterance. Is literature really dead? Is it lying in state in an empty hall where only now and then a few timid spirits penetrate and march solemnly past the corpse, peering between the lighted candles at the still, sad, noble countenance which is to be buried in a few days? The miracle of the written word seems about to be forgotten.

All things move and nothing abides was true in the days of Heraclitus, but never before in history has speed been so terrible, or man pushed so violently from the new and the strange to the newer and the stranger. "So far as our knowledge goes, no sort of creatures have ever lived under changing conditions without undergoing the profoundest changes themselves. . . . Human society has never been static, and presently it will cease to attempt to be static."

"Presently," says the hopeful writer. But who indeed in the flux of life would dare for an instant try to make a stand against the uprushing stream of change? The past is past and few so dull and apathetic as to pause and look backward. On to the walls and over into the new, the untried, the strange!

The conventions that persuaded and pervaded the past are easy to trace. They seem to have some of the stability of the distant spheres. In the novel we can watch the senti-

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mentality of Richardson somewhat mitigated by a surer sense of fact in Fielding; we can see the impervious gentility of Miss Austen giving way to the passionate individualism of the two Brontë sisters; we can see Thackeray's social sense and Dickens's humane feeling become sternly didactic and precisely descriptive in George Eliot's work. But in the sudden fluorescence of modern magazine literature, in the maddened modern demand for felicitous loves, lightly handled, that fixed star of lower middle-class bliss, it is sometimes difficult to discern the real convention, the static quality beneath the flowing tide. In vain Shaw calls out from his seat of clear-seeing critic that any couple perennially in a state of rapturous emotion toward each other are in immediate need of a doctor, and that though a little sentimentality may be a good thing, chronic sentimentality is a horror more dangerous because more possible than erotomania. No one has time to listen to serious critics of life now, and sentimentality is one of the most stable conventions of literature despite the protests of the minority who still cling to larger interests and more wholesome diet. Sentimentality about the callow love-period, sentimentality about precocious children, sentimentality about family, local, tribal instincts, these are the most nearly fixed of modern literary conventions.

As the purveyors of modern literature called aloud for the "pleasant love story," with the same vociferous insistence they called for the happy ending. If one might only somewhere have a free and frank heart-to-heart talk with the providers of literature, one would like to say: "Come now, let us be frank and sensible and honest together. *Does* every incident in life end happily? Is the whole way a pleasant and easy course, broken by only little interludes of difficulty to emphasize the general joy? And if not, why should we lead the young astray, give misleading solace to the middle-aged and opiates to the old by any such pretensions? Were the emotions of the Greeks not purged by scenes and records of pity and terror, and is there not even a certain fine solace in truth in stating life in terms of reality, in letting literature be a true picture of the thwartings and partial successes, the joy and stress of fortitude in failure, which as a matter-of-fact life is, instead of losing our whole sense of truth by a manufactured convention?"

A second modern convention is the destruction of all

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standards of language. What began in a romantic tendency to vivify language by transposing all the terms of the arts and crafts to other uses moved on to the adoption of all the ugliest and vulgarest speech of the streets and its application to the recorded utterance of ladies and gentlemen in books. Turning to a current magazine, for example, we find one of our most distinguished women writers of America allowing her heroine, the daughter of a famous architect, proud of her high breeding and social standing, to say to her lover of his attentions to another lady, "I thought it was a mash!" Is this true to life? Does any well-born, well-bred girl with social standards ever say any such thing? And if not, why lead astray the readers of the popular women's magazines? It is to be feared that in vulgarity literature takes upon itself to lead the way and point the pernicious path out to life. Another magazine in a new effort to show how easily standards may be demolished, and how easy it is to be up to date, publishes a remarkable story in which the terms of life are so turned upside down, refrains so emptily and sillily repeated, that one is set wondering whether it is a triumph of insanity, or merely mob-violence pushed to the utmost against the language and rationality of man.

What is quite certain is that any standards of language based upon traditions or fine usage are swept away, professors of language, philosophers, and a few misguided artists lend their approval to the incessant change. The parts of speech in which an earlier generation were trained are commingled past recognition. Grammar is gone by the board, and diction founded on a sense of fine association is as behind the times as the snows of yesteryear. Adjectives, verbs, and nouns are all interchangeable, and indeed few modern writers can distinguish the one from the other.

Culture, that pause in life which stops to look at the past and connect it with the present, to cull what is beautiful and worthy and give it further life in the world of to-day was never at so great a disadvantage—not even in the times of the French Revolution. For to-day the tendency to destruction is more widely spread and the contagion more swiftly caught than ever before. And so culture, represented by perhaps some half-dozen writers in England and two or three in America must hide its head in shame and distress.

Perhaps the saddest phenomenon of all is that though we

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are fully conscious of inhabiting still a world in which the brave die young, where the wicked man flourishes as a green bay tree, where what is lovely and true and of high intent is pushed aside to make room for the lush growth of what is easy and slight and common, the conventions of modern literature cut us off from the ancient outlet of jeremiads. If only we might lament our losses as did the prophets of old! But we are no longer allowed to cry aloud upon the heavens to be astonished at the sight of the perversity of mankind forsaking old gods and creating new. We do not even hope with those of another day that "wickedness shall correct and backslidings reprove." Though the noble vine and the wholly right seed were planted, we see only "the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto us." The night that is never so black and so long we are called upon to proclaim a sun-flooded noon. We have discarded our whole past and with an impetus never before conceived we are plunging into whatever sheer unpremeditated change may offer.

And yet for those who can afford it, is there not room for a few folk to withdraw from the bustle and hubbub, to keep quiet and treasure the best of the past? It is told of Chinese poetry of the fourth century, for example, that "a deep simplicity touching many hidden things, a profound regard for the noble uses of leisure—these were the technique and the composition and color of all their work." What a sense of peace and stability and rest drops on us from such words! And turning back for a little quiet to that day, is it not reassuring to read again of a "heart once full of light, now like a dying moon"? Or to hear of the king of Liang, "a man of wondrous might, who kept an open palace where music charmed the night?"

> "Since he was lord of Liang, a thousand years have flown,
> And of all the towered buildings, yon ruin stands alone."

What is it that makes us wistful and gentle and vaguely hopeful when we turn our eyes backward and listen to such words? It is the sense of the eternally recurrent and the thought that the present tumultuous order and all the destruction that goes with it will also fade like a dream, and after the destruction of the present some period of noble stability and stately motion, some settled sense of truth and fineness, may visit again the abodes of man.

Louise Collier Willcox.

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MUSIC AND DRAMA

SIGNIFICANT HAPPENINGS OF THE MONTH

Love in an Old Garden.—Miss Barrymore's Exposure of the Artistic Temperament.—"The Marriage Game."—The Return of Forbes-Robertson.

BY LAWRENCE GILMAN

PRUNELLA was very young—like Theocritus's Nycheia, her eyes were "April eyes." Also, like another damsel whom Theocritus chose to celebrate, she was "a maiden, as fair a thing as the gods could fashion." So, besides being very young, Prunella was also very lovely. She lived in a quaint and formal old garden, shut away from the world by lofty and doubtless immemorial hedges, shaded by ancient yew-trees that were "all elbows and knees," and tended by three gardeners as immemorial as the quaint, stiff hedges and the twisted yew-trees. It is a delectable old garden, as Mr. Winthrop Ames reveals it to you, with exquisite and delicately imaginative art, on the stage of his Little Theater—a garden which, if we were permitted a feminine emancipation of diction, we should call adorable. It is a garden wherein, if one happened to be the least little bit weary of the world and the least little bit heartsick, one could dream away one's days with complete security and perfect peace. But Prunella, being both young and what writers of lyric prose call "unawakened," was neither weary nor heartsick, though she *was* dreaming dreams—dreams that were quickened by seductive rumors of a band of strolling players who were unsettling the neighborhood, and especially Prunella's guardians, with their roistering. For Prunella did not live alone in the garden—she lived with her three Cerberus-like maiden aunts, Prim, Prude, and Privacy, who had brought her up on Sir Austin Feverel's ingenuous theory that ignorance of the world is an armor

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against its persuasions, and whose principles are symbolized for us by the elderly Cupid who may be seen playing a violin under the yew-trees at the side of the garden: for the Cupid is a stone Cupid, and his violin is mute. With how merciless a propriety Prunella has been reared you will guess from the little lesson which she recites demurely to Prim, Prude, and Privacy as they sit knitting in the garden. Her prayer and her endeavor must be, she says,

> Not to allow my thoughts to stray
> Beyond the duties of each day;
> Thus only can I hope to be
> A type of maidenly modesty.

But that perspicacious seer whom we have already quoted might have told Prim and Prude and Privacy that "when Nature has made us ripe for love, it is seldom that the Fates are behindhand in furnishing a temple for the flame"; and that is precisely what happened to Prunella. For Prunella encountered Pierrot, who was the leader of the band of strolling mummers, and went that way which is the way of dreams, of delight, of longing, of unrest, and of illimitable pain; while her aunts encountered what Sir Thomas Browne called "the rigor of realities."

Pierrot himself tells us how it happened—of the house "asleep on the edge of the town," with the encompassing garden hedge, and the notice up at the gate that "told Love to keep out."

> But Love cannot read—he is blind;
> So he came there one day
> And knocked, but the house was unkind,
> It turned him away.
>
> But lo, when the gates were all closed,
> When the windows were fast,
> At night while the householders dozed,
> Love entered at last.

And Prunella yielded; for had not Pierrot kissed her, and had not the stone Cupid come to life, playing a tender song on his fiddle and advising her to "harken to the voice of love"? So she became Pierrette, being transformed in the twinkling of an eye, and was borne away one night in Pierrot's arms, after joyously flaunting her rose-garlands and her ballet-skirts in the horrified face of the little old house and the prim, stiff old garden.

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One need not be told that Pierrot acted quite unforgivably in this matter, for he did not love Prunella, as he frankly admitted to his scamp of a servant, Scaramel; and so it is not very long before Pierrette, heart-broken and full of knowledge and sorrow, creeps back to the little house in the old garden and falls at the feet of the stone Cupid who had given her such calamitous advice. Yet we are not, after all, to be racked by tragedy. Pierrot, also, returns to the garden, seeking Pierrette, for he has not been able to endure life without her; and, at the end, we see them in each other's arms, mutually impassioned, forgiving, and consolatory.

So we leave the Little Theater with a feeling of sincere gratitude to Mr. Ames for permitting us to witness this ingratiating *mélange* of drama, fairy-play, verse, and music, of which the literary and dramatic elements were contributed by Messrs. Laurence Housman and Granville Barker, and the incidental music by one Joseph Moorat, of whose identity we must confess profound ignorance. So far as its conception goes, "Prunella, or Love in a Garden," is indubitably attractive, at times genuinely touching; but one is regretfully aware that it would have been a much more moving and delightful creation if Mr. Housman had been able to achieve verse and prose of true beauty and distinction, instead of verse that is at its best merely pretty, and at its worst sinks to incredible depths of bathos —as in that exculpatory line of Pierrot's, in contriving which Mr. Housman surely had an apprehensive eye on the British matron: "We are married—she had wished it." Could fatuous prudery go further? As for Mr. Moorat's music, the most charitable thing that can be said of it is that it does not offend. It is seemly and, in an easily achieved way, appropriate; but of saliency, eloquence, or originality it is wholly guiltless. The feature of the piece as it is done at the Little Theater is the exquisite manner in which Mr. Ames has put it upon the stage. In respect of scenery, lighting, and costuming, we cannot easily conceive a more perfect accomplishment. We would gladly witness this production many nights in succession for the sake of the extraordinarily beautiful sky effects alone—the sky at dusk; the sky violet-hued, star-sown; the sky at dawn. Truly there is more imagination in Mr. Ames's electrician than in Mr. Housman's verse! Thrice-admirable,

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too, is the acting of Miss Marguerite Clark *(Prunella)*, Mr. Ernest Glendinning *(Pierrot)*, Mr. Reginald Barlow *(Scaramel)*, and of those who play the minor characters. Miss Clark is a figure of winsome and enamouring loveliness as *Prunella*, and she plays the part with fine intelligence, with delicate justness of expression, with possessing charm. The *Pierrot* of Mr. Glendinning has exceptional grace and authority.

All in all, we are beholden to Mr. Ames for a memorable entertainment. If only Mr. Housman's text and Mr. Moorat's music had been as poetic as Mr. Ames's skies!

It is no part of a reviewer's business to ask impertinent questions of an author as to his knowledge of the subject he elects to discuss; yet if *Tante*, the novel by Anne Douglas Sedgwick which Mr. C. Haddon Chambers has dramatized, were less consistent in its psychological fidelity to a certain type than it actually is, one might have to be inquisitive. It is admittedly a dangerous undertaking to attempt to set forth the artistic temperament on the stage or in a novel—especially the artistic temperament as it is embodied in those whose art happens to be music. Mr. George Moore has, of course, done the thing once and for all in his *Evelyn Innes*—indeed, he has almost made it superfluous for any one else to venture in where he has so superlatively excelled. Yet, for those whose misfortune it is to know by personal experience the more egregious type of musical artist, *Tante* is a reasonably veracious and viable creation. To be sure, the *Tante* shown to you by Miss Ethel Barrymore is not quite the *Tante* of the novel; but she is no less truthful an expression of the type. Her sublime selfishness, her incorrigible egoism, are blameless in their fidelity. We have often wished that those lovable sentimentalists who talk of the "ennobling" effect of music on the human soul would explain why it is that the typical musical artist is so very apt to be a prodigy of ignobility. We should like to send all such amiable idealists to see Miss Barrymore as *Tante* at the Empire—not only because they would experience a healthful if somewhat saddening disillusionment, but because they would witness an exceedingly skilful and vivid characterization. To observe Miss Barrymore's delicious simulation of hypocritical emotion in her sobbing appeal to her ward, in the

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last act of Mr. Chambers's altogether delightful play, is to be persuaded (if one needs to be persuaded) that Miss Barrymore is among the most deft and accomplished *comédiennes* on our stage. We have only one quarrel with her: she makes *Tante* a shade too likable. In real life, the musical artist of great fame—man or woman—may be loved, but seldom liked.

Mrs. Oliver was a woman whom you could not truthfully—as she points out to her unwilling host, Nevil Ingraham—describe as scarlet (she calls it "black," but you understand that she means "scarlet"). Once a woman steps outside the conventional pale she becomes black, observes Mrs. Oliver—black as the ace of spades: "You're all the same, you men—you're all color-blind. You recognize no degree in a life like mine." Which is doubtless true. It is one of the valuable traits of Mrs. Anne Crawford Flexner's adroit and brilliant little comedy, "The Marriage Game," that she makes you realize these differences in degree. She has done this very audaciously and very successfully. Indeed, her Mrs. Oliver is incomparably the most spiritually respectable, the wisest, the most admirable figure in the play. Men, says Ingraham, have decreed that their women-folk shall "wear white, and white alone"—no blacks or dubious grays for him; and the other women in the play are unquestionably spotless. But they are also silly, spiteful, quarrelsome, suspicious, small-souled, uncharitable, hopelessly unwise: Mrs. Oliver —who is certainly not white, perhaps not even pale gray—shines out from among them like an angel of light and beneficence. So that you find yourself repeating, as you leave the Comedy Theater—repeating almost with approval—that remark of Disraeli's about his wife which Mrs. Oliver herself quotes in the play: to the effect that, by reason of her gracious and charming thoughtfulness upon a certain occasion, she seemed "more like a mistress than a wife." Of course Mrs. Flexner must respect the proprieties, and the immaculate and watchful guardians of our public morality must not be affronted; so she is, on the whole, against the Mrs. Olivers of actual life, and would have our women regard "the marriage game" as a game well worth playing, if only it be played with skill, enthusiasm, and devotion. "You can't win any game except by

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playing it to win," says Mrs. Oliver; "yet many women, when they marry, behave as if they'd won the game instead of just begun it. Why don't you, if you fail, feel the same humiliation that a man does at bankruptcy? After all, it's your job."

We are aware that it is contrary to the belief of many discouraged or perhaps too petulant observers to assert that the contemporary theater offers any possibilities of delight or high satisfaction whatsoever. For those who venture to think that the theater was never more rewarding than it is to-day, that it has never been closer to life, never more open to the influence of spiritual and intellectual ideas, never more alive to beauty—for those who so think, one might allege the serene exhortation of Emerson, "let us leave hurry to slaves": for there is nothing more certain than that their conviction will eventually justify itself. But certainly we can all agree—we who are confident, and we who are disheartened and perturbed—that while the contemporary stage may be going to the dogs, it is still somewhat short of that destination so long as it is able to show such things as the season of "farewell" performances now being given at the Shubert Theater by Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson. It is a little late in the day to praise Forbes-Robertson; yet it is perhaps worth saying that never has he seemed such an honor to the theater, so fine and rare and scrupulous an artist, so noble a presence, as he is to-day. We have used the word "noble." It is difficult to characterize Forbes-Robertson without using it. Whatever he does is touched with noble dignity, noble sweetness, noble beauty. We can think of few deeper and more satisfying delights than listening to his noble declamation of noble English, whether it be the English of "Hamlet" or the English of "Cæsar and Cleopatra"—and we make no apology for naming the two plays in the same breath. Indeed, we would suggest to those who decline to regard Mr. George Bernard Shaw as anything but an impudent mountebank that they hear Forbes-Robertson declaim that magnificent apostrophe to the Sphinx in the first act of "Cæsar and Cleopatra": the nobility, the elevation, the poetry of the words are worthy the superb delivery of the greatest master of English diction in our time. LAWRENCE GILMAN.

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THE BOOK OF THE MONTH

BY F. M. COLBY

FRAU MAYREDER'S *A Survey of the Woman Problem*[1] is a surprisingly peaceful and reasonable exposition of feminism. Sex-patriots are a fierce folk, be they feminists or hominists, and they have no patience with people who from cowardice or gross uncertainty have refrained from taking sides. That is why the usual treatise on "Woman, Her Cause and Cure," contains so little for us outsiders. It is intended as a missile for the contrary-minded, not as a message to those who have not yet made up their minds. Is Woman the supreme being whose "two strong arms are the pillars that sustain the universe" or is she a "capsule covering an emptiness which man alone can fill"? There is the naked choice. The usual writer on Woman would think it base to hesitate. Frau Mayreder has no such scorn for the undecided. Nor does she boil down Man and sum up Woman in these vast and awful simplicities. Moreover, though a feminist, she is a woman of peace, aiming at no sex conquest, but only at benevolent assimilation. No doubt it is these ingratiating qualities, rather than any great powers of thought or expression, that have given her her great prestige in Germany and are now prompting many English-speaking reviewers to exclaim that they never looked upon her like before. Her plan, or rather dream, of benevolent assimilation looks forward to a new and higher form of human being whom she calls "synthetic man."

> The representatives of higher humanity in a monistic sense will be those whose psycho-physical constitution enables them to overstep the bounds of sexuality and to raise and increase the inward relationships between the sexes—those beings who are subject to the conditions both of the male and of the female—synthetic man.

[1] *A Survey of the Woman Problem.* By Rosa Mayreder. From the German by Herman Scheffauer. George H. Doran & Co.: New York, 1913.

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This, however, is a long way off, and meanwhile she addresses herself to the task of removing the misunderstandings between the sexes.

There she does some good destructive work on the subject of Woman in General. Many pages of her arguments may be summed up in the single and apparently sound thesis that Woman, with a capital letter, is a myth, and only women are realities. Woman and woman, she says, are no more alike than man and man. After a careful study of men's general statements about Woman she concludes that Woman is merely a "subjective fetish of sex," having no existence outside the brain of the thinker. Goethe and Grillparzer, indeed, were frank enough to admit it. "My ideas of woman," said Goethe, "are not obtained from experiences of reality, but they are inborn or have developed in me Heaven knows how." And Grillparzer exclaims: "A woman, what might it be? . . . A something that is never anything, never nothing, just as I happen to imagine it—I—I alone." But almost all other distinguished writers have been quite sure about her. Frau Mayreder illustrates their confusion. There is Lotze saying that "the female hates analysis" and therefore cannot distinguish the true from the false. There is Lafitte saying that "the female prefers analysis." There is Kingsley calling her "the only true missionary of civilization," and Pope calling her a rake at heart; Havelock Ellis saying that she cannot work under pressure, and Von Horn saying that in the fulfilling of heavy requirements she puts a man to shame; M. de Lambert that she plays with love, Krafft-Ebing that her heart is toward monogamy; Brissac that "souls have no sex," Feuerbach that they have; Laura Marholm that "the significance of woman is man," Frau Andreas Salomé that woman is one "who endeavors to realize an ever broader, ever richer unfolding of her innate self"; Havelock Ellis that nervous irritability has ever been her peculiar characteristic; Möbius that women are "strongly conservative and hate all innovation"; Hippel that "the spirit of revolution broods over the female sex"; Lecky that woman is superior both in instinctive virtues and in those which arise from a sense of duty; Lombroso that there is "a half-criminaloid being even in the normal woman"; Bachhofer that "Law is innate in women"; von Hartmann that the whole sex is unjust and unfair; Nietzsche saying at one moment that women like George Sand and

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Madame de Staël are of corrupted instincts and "merely absurd," and at another that woman alone has "intelligence" and men merely "emotion and passion."

From which partial list of contradictions it will be seen that Frau Mayreder is justified in thinking that writers on the subject are, to say the least, rather happy-go-lucky. Or, in her more elaborate language:

> Woman as an abstraction, as a figment of thought, exists only in the brain of the thinker, and is absolutely dependent upon this—as the nature of thought demands; but woman as an individual exists for herself, and is as noble or as vile, as gifted or as stupid, as weak or as strong, as good or as wicked, as like to man or as unlike him; in short, as diversified as is made necessary by the very nature of the human species. How astonishing that this simple observation, confirmed a thousandfold by life and the representation of life, should only in the rarest cases be able to assert itself against the power of the subjective fetish!

And it is the same way with those sex-patriots who carry the fight back through savagery and the home life of the chimpanzee and bird-matings and bee society to the cell itself. No sure formula of Femininity can be founded on the qualities of masculine and feminine germ-cells, for even here partisanship enters and "we find little more than arbitrary suppositions, in which everything points in a direction agreeable to the writer." Some say that a self-assertive spirit is a mark of the masculine germ, while the feminine is, on the whole, passive and stable. Others taunt the masculine germ-cell for its "fusion with a larger self-contained organism like the ovulum," as a sign of that spirit of surrender and self-sacrifice "which has always been considered a particular distinguishing feature of the female nature." It is evident that people cannot forget the suffrage question or their own family affairs even when discussing a protozoon.

In short, we are forever attributing to sex spiritual and intellectual qualities that are not necessarily bound up with it.

> If after we have stripped off all the influences of mode of life and occupation, of custom and extraction, and freed our judgment from conventional prejudices, and particularly from our own subjective tendency, we seek justification for all that may still be called manly or unmanly, womanly or unwomanly, then we will find at the bottom of our consciousness a feeling difficult to define. Taking concrete examples as guides, it seems quite clear that this feeling is not directed

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against certain qualities. We do not regard as unfeminine the great women of history—a Portia, Arria, or Charlotte Corday, though their actions exhibit all the energy, resolution, and courage of a particularly masculine temperament; nor as "unmanly" the loving resignation, gentleness, and self-sacrifice by which many of the saints of Christian legend evince a distinctly feminine disposition. From this alone it is evident that in the higher ranks of personal perfection the ordinary psycho-sexual categories are no longer applicable. These divisions are more concerned with the externals of personality and the lower ranks of ordinary life. They leave unregarded an entire list of qualities which point to a personal distinction beyond all sex, as, for example, strength of mind, force of will, steadfastness, courage, reliability, etc. And in the moral ideal which Christendom has given to the world, chastity, humility, peacefulness, even the need of subordination to the guidance of a higher will, are all set forth as virtues irrespective of sex.

Frau Mayreder's patient analysis of all sorts of things that do not bear analysis, of conventionalities, gentilities, feminine pucker, masculine swagger, poetical sentimentality, oratorical rant, and the various attempts of Peter the Pumpkin-eater to put True Woman in a pumpkin-shell, naturally convicts the world of a good many absurdities. And it would not have hurt the human race in the least if, while tidying up its mental confusion, she had smiled a little now and then; but not for a moment does she permit herself to be amused by anything in a world that has gone so hopelessly astray on sex questions. Toward nonsense in all its forms she maintains an attitude of extraordinary seriousness. She does not even call it nonsense, but envelops it in scientific-sounding terms that make it seem quite dignified. Let Michelet remark in a silly moment, "You must create your wife—it is her own wish," and she straightway defines it as a "subjective erotic fantasy." Some of the simplest and most familiar types of men disappear beneath her Greek derivatives. For example, there is he who swaggers a good deal in his own household and is "tame and feeble" everywhere else—he who for all ordinary purposes might with perfect adequacy be termed an ass. This simple definition by no means contents her. She says he "experiences a dyscrasy, or sense of discord, within him" and "between his sexual life and his career as a citizen there exists a latent contradiction which secretly is, perhaps, as great a trial to him as to the wife who is dependent on him." A licentious, domineering man, a weak, passive, crafty, false, or ludicrous woman, is an *acratic* person—that is to say, a "partially developed being whose whole person-

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ality is determined by teleological sex characteristics." They are exponents of "centrifugal sexuality." On the other hand, persons like the Christian saints are *iliastric,* "the highest type of centripetal sexuality." Better still are the *synthetic* folk above mentioned whose sexuality is an equilibrium of the centrifugal and the centripetal sexual tendency. She seems to have caught some bad verbal habit from almost every science she has studied, but she has no doubt suffered the most from sociology. Take, for example, the simple and familiar precept that women should advance in morality and intelligence so far as possible without shattering the outward decencies. What mind uncorrupted by the social sciences would conceal it under this?

> To emancipate oneself from the ethical normative of femininity, which fetters individuality because of the teleological limits of sex, is a distinct right. But to preserve its formal quality is the task of a free personality.

As so often happens with the sociologist, words are cast over common little ideas just to prevent their capture:

> That development of woman as an independent personality, of which the strivings of modern women are the expression, is attended in some cases by a dyscrasy of the feminine being—a bad mixture of the tendencies of the female striving for sexual subordination and the tendencies of her personality striving for independence. Such women, by reason of their erotic peculiarity, look for those very qualities in the man of their choice which they are least able to endure in their extra-sexual life.

But this is Frau Mayreder at her worst. She remains lucid for pages at a time and even her encumbered passages are often worth stripping to the thought within, for it is a book of wide views, the product of a singularly honest intellect. It is too bad that a good many persons, stunned by her language, will be unable to find this out. Of course, there may be some sovereign scientific virtue in all these dyscrasies, acrasies, iliastrics, and teleological psycho-sexual erotico-frigidities, and possibly there is a professor of something somewhere who would take to them as a duck to water, but for my part I cannot imagine what his subject would be.

As to the equality of the sexes, Frau Mayreder "concedes that the female majority type is not the equal of the male either in intellect or in strength of will." She adds:

> The "equality" of the sexes in general is something which one should only consider in so far as it stands in relation to the right of individual

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self-development—the absolute measure of comparison should only be used in cases where it is necessary to give judgment between two competitors of different sexes in one single contingency. None but the most partisan spirit, prejudiced either for or against, would fail to acknowledge that any equal achievement of the woman ought to be valued, subjectively, in a far higher degree, because of the greater difficulties, from within and from without, which she must overcome. Indeed, it may be said that one of the greatest acts of injustice that may be charged against those who uphold a supposedly objective valuation lies in comparing the feminine intellectuality in a historical sense with the masculine, making use of man himself as a masculine standard.

According to Frau Mayreder the days of the lady are numbered. Soon the term ladylike will be actually insulting. There is something in the very idea of ladyhood "that is incompatible with the concept of a free personaliy." There is, moreover, "something antiquated, something quixotic," about it. Sport has greatly damaged the lady because of its swift and violent movements which aim "more at sureness than at grace." It "militates against the orthodox conception of the lady" that she should break her nose on a bicycle. And—

It is precisely in the matter of sport that one cannot exclude the element of comradeship in the intercourse between the sexes. It is just here that it has won its most extensive and astonishing victories. It would be possible to apply a variation of Buckle's famous dictum with regard to the ethical mission of the locomotive by declaring that the bicycle has done more for the emancipation of woman than all the strivings of the entire woman's movement taken together.

Sport, according to Frau Mayreder, is one of the "disguised, revolutionary elements," that are surely working for the removal of those two useless "anachronisms," the "housekeeper" and the "lady," from the face of the earth. This sounds like the exaggerations of some brilliant British essayist.

And again—

Never before have the ordinary conceptions of femininity, of the imaginary "ideal woman," been so imbecile as in the nineteenth century.

Fancy being on such familiar terms with all the centuries!

But these are mere forms of speech caught from too much reading of contemporary essays on the future of woman and the nature of modern man. Even the lightest of literary characters nowadays will toss the ages about in this manner and would think it the mark of a cowardly intellect if they did not say "all history shows." No harm is meant; it is

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merely by way of emphasis, a sort of sociological way of swearing. Social philosophies have to bluster a good deal in universals because they are so largely founded on omissions. So these huge generalities that fly about in the great sex conflict often contain only a few particulars. The hominist who would save the world from an irruption of gynecocrats is often merely fleeing from some single Mary Ann. But one soon learns to make allowances; and it is possible to read these things without loss of balance so long as one does not forget to extract the *n*th root of words that are obviously raised to the *n*th power. Otherwise giddiness will surely supervene, as happened to a young man last May who, on reading Frau Mayreder's book, wrote about it with great violence in the *English Review*. He said that not only had the lady disappeared, but the gentleman also, and what with sport, and education, and electricity, and eugenics, and the slit skirt, and the turkey trot, and "all America and all Paris and half England doing ragtime," it was plain that the Human Blush no longer blocked the way of woman's progress, and that, "creatively, Woman stands to-day unshackled!" Elated, but a little incoherent, he burst out now and then with such remarks as "Modesty—perhaps!" and "Virginity—consider!" Only one thing seemed to mar his pleasure. Personally he did not care for Frau Mayreder's "synthetic ideal." "Sex," he declared, "is and must be the greatest force in life, because life is entirely dependent on it." He thought he descried in Frau Mayreder's synthetic person a "lack of animalism, and consequently of vitality," and he attached great importance to vitality and believed that it ought to be preserved. "I love a great bouncing puppy," said he. "I love the vitality of man." But there was not the slightest need of his getting into any such condition had he but followed the simple rule I have mentioned.

F. M. Colby.

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NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

SHAKESPEARE AS A PLAYWRIGHT. By BRANDER MATTHEWS. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

On the whole, no more affording book for the general reader who wishes to understand and enjoy Shakespeare has been written than this of Professor Matthews's. Since it was plays primarily that Shakespeare was trying to write, it ought to go almost without saying that we can best understand the development of the dramatist and the sequence of his works by viewing him primarily as a playwright and only secondarily as a poet or as a psychologist. The plan is schematically clear and illuminating, though occasionally, like a mercator's chart, it may seem to diminish the size or importance of a play that looms larger poetically than dramatically. On the other hand, that sort of criticism which insists upon viewing Shakespeare's works *sub specie æternitatis* has perhaps done for us about all that it will ever do.

For biographies of Shakespeare padded with speculation, the author seems to have no more liking than Professor Saintsbury reveals in his part of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*. Professor Matthews gives the main, established facts and highest probabilities briefly, and then goes on to a discussion of the Tudor theater. Shakespeare's plays, he believes, cannot be really understood until we have rid ourselves of the prejudices and conventions connected with our modern "picture-frame" stage, with its elaborate scenery, its curtain, and its long waits between acts. The stage of Shakespeare's time must be viewed from the standpoint of the time that preceded Shakespeare's birth and not from that of a time long after his death. The cardinal doctrine of the Tudor stage —the doctrine inherited from the earlier miracle plays and moralities— was that the place represented by the stage might be anywhere, and in no case is the action hindered by serious doubt as to the locality in which it is supposed to occur: if any such doubt arises the spoken lines promptly dispel it. When the actors leave the stage, it is Venice; when they return, it is Belmont; and what is lost in dramatic illusion through the want of scenery is made up in swiftness of exposition and in story-telling power through the absence of scene-shifting. To the lack of scenery also we owe those splendid Shakespearean descriptions, which lose as much by the scene-painter's art as do poems in a book by illustration; and in which, surely, the absurdity of an actor's commenting eloquently upon canvas backgrounds was not originally contemplated. A further advantage of the Tudor mode of representation lay, no doubt, in the fact

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that it gave to the comedies somewhat of the character of homely, impromptu entertainments, of which the spectators felt themselves a part.

The aim of the miracle plays and moralities was primarily, of course, to tell a story—the *whole story*—and to tell it in such a manner that even those spectators who could not understand or did not hear the lines could not fail to follow the action. This purpose of telling the whole story, without regard for unity or proportion, passed over into the chronicle plays of Shakespeare's time; and Professor Matthews clearly points out that it is to the old blood-and-thunder tragedy of revenge that we must look for the origin not only of what we find repellent in some of the Shakespearean tragedies, but for their very dramatic structure. "Hamlet," indeed, is in its skeleton structure a perfect type of the blood-and-revenge tragedy; and such expedients as the appearance of the murdered man's ghost and the madness of the hero were almost conventional features of earlier plays belonging to the same category.

Taking up the plays of Shakespeare in the generally accepted chronological order, Professor Matthews discusses Shakespeare as a reviser and imitator. Next he takes up the earliest comedies, in which he finds the playwright "groping for a formula of comedy which no one of his contemporaries had attempted." Passing on to the earliest chronicle plays, he finds that in these Shakespeare developed his power of breathing the breath of life into the men and women of his creation and of writing "soaring speeches and pathetic phrases." Next comes "Romeo and Juliet"—a masterpiece of stagecraft as of poetry and humanity. There seems to be little doubt that the plays in which Falstaff first figures were composed later than "Romeo and Juliet," and they show an advance in power of character-creation; yet the chronicle play, with its elementary story-telling purpose, remains in structure the chronicle play. After this group follow the romantic comedies, such as "The Merchant of Venice" and "As You Like It," in which the playwright has at length found his formula—his method of supporting comedy by means of a more or less serious underplot. "It may be," conjectures Professor Matthews, "that when Shakespeare composed 'All's Well,' he was worn and weary, distracted by some personal suffering. Yet it needs to be said once more that his effort seems always to be in direct proportion to the attraction exerted upon him by the subject he is at work on." Such is the explanation offered for the unsatisfactory dramatic quality of the group of plays called "comedy dramas"; nor is it forgotten that there is no warrant for assuming a smoothly regular progress from good to better and from better to best in any man's work. Illuminating, as from the stage point of view, are the author's analyses of "Hamlet," "Othello," the plays from Plutarch, "King Lear," "Macbeth," and the "dramatic romances," including "The Tempest." Professor Matthews steps aside now and then to talk entertainingly and instructively of Shakespeare as an actor, of the actors in Shakespeare's company, and of the Elizabethan audiences who saw Shakespeare's plays performed. The author's method and taste make him sparing of rhetorical appreciation, and in general what he writes is much to the point. Professor Matthews is a master of popular exposition: his book is charmingly written, chatty yet concise. It is no exaggeration to say that by reading this volume one's appreciation of Shakespeare, in the theater or in the library, will be measurably increased.

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EARLY MEMORIES. By HENRY CABOT LODGE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

Few autobiographies are on all scores better worth the reading than this of Henry Cabot Lodge's. Writing with the mellowness, but without the studied languor, of reminiscence, Senator Lodge gives lively impressions of life from the time when "Boston was small enough to be satisfying to a boy's desires" down to the beginning of the author's political career. Senator Lodge has, of course, a large grasp of things, and—what is far rarer—he has that true relish and appreciation of what is intimately connected with oneself which is the very soul of autobiography. He can be quite frank—with the frankness moderns have learned from Montaigne, and on occasion also with a modern subtlety of analysis. But the quality of his writing that strikes us most, perhaps, is its urbanity—the urbanity characteristic of Holmes, G. W. Curtis, Lowell, our classic school of American writers.

Senator Lodge dwells pleasantly but not too caressingly upon his boyhood days—the days of clipper ships—brought vividly before our eyes—of merchants' offices in the granite blocks running down to the piers at Commercial or Lewis Wharf, whither came pestering small boys—himself among them—in search of foreign postage stamps; the days of skating on the Frog Pond and snow fights on the Common. Characterizing the Boston of that period with a gift for modestly expressive speech that is his in a greater degree than it is most men's, he writes: "Whatever its merits or defects, Boston in the first decade of the second half of the nineteenth century had a meaning and a personality, and even a boy could feel them. It may have been narrow, austere, at times even harsh, this personality, but it was there, and it was strong, manly, aggressive. It would still have been possible to rally the people in 1850 as they were once rallied against British soldiers on a certain cold March evening with the cry of 'Town born, turn out!'"

Of the Civil War, he gives a boy's impressions, as little as possible confused with mature afterthoughts, and he really adds a good deal to the effect and significance of the period in our minds. Here and everywhere there is apt and relevant anecdote, and the flavor that is given by strong and interesting personalities—some famous and some not. There are hitherto unpublished stories about Rufus Choate, and there is a letter from Daniel Webster on the subject of fishing—a letter methodical as always, but not oratorical, for once, and showing the writer, oh, very much absorbed in the minutiæ of angling. There is much of foreign travel—not at all in the guide-book style. There are delightful memories of Harvard together with a side-light upon the elective system newly introduced by President Eliot; and the reminiscences of the American stage as it used to be are unexpectedly full. Again, nothing could be sounder or more entertaining than the author's digressive interpretation of boy-life or his frankly critical discussion, from the boy's standpoint, of books for boys, including *Tom Brown, Sandford and Merton,* and the Abbott stories.

Senator Lodge shuns the rôle of *laudator temporis acti,* and his chapter of retrospect is no bitter contrast of past and present, yet he speaks firmly and vigorously regarding certain modern sentimental and political tendencies, and, without argument, does us good by enabling us to think

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the sterner thoughts and feel the possibly more wholesome feelings of an earlier generation of Americans. His autobiography, if not the most important record of the last half-century, is certainly one of the most profitable and entertaining.

THE WRITINGS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. Edited by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, Vol. II. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

The period covered in the present volume of John Quincy Adams's collected correspondence extends from 1796 to 1801. The opening of the period finds him at The Hague, whither he had been sent as Minister Resident, only a little while before Pichegru marched into the capital of the Low Countries, hung out the tri-color, and established the "Batavian Republic" as the ally of France. The close of the period sees Adams in Berlin, having been accredited to the Prussian King as ambassador for the purpose of concluding a treaty of amity and commerce between Prussia and the United States.

Adams remained at The Hague until November, 1797, keeping a sharp eye upon French politics, and maintaining a comprehensive and pithy correspondence with his father, John Adams, with Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, and others. The letters throw light upon the difficult state of relations abroad and upon political passions at home. Revealing the details of negotiations, they show also the sense of insecurity felt by those in charge of the new republic, the disposition to cry "Wolf!" and the writer's belief in the inclination of the Directory to meddle unwarrantably and even violently in American politics. Adams, however, consistently refused to be bullied, irritated as he frequently was by such humiliating fiascos as the refusal of the Directory to negotiate with Pinckney, the expressed preference for Monroe, the unwise behavior of Gerry in dealing with Talleyrand after the other members of the commission of which Gerry was a member had been dismissed, the "X, Y, Z" episode, and the like. Able diplomat as he was proving himself to be, the Adams of these letters is plainly the Adams of the Diary: the pessimistic and rather self-righteous turn of mind, the more or less restrained bitterness of feeling, and the power of caustic characterization are all in evidence. Of Tom Paine, Adams wrote: "It has, in the course of Heaven's ways to man, been God's pleasure sometimes to create human beings with mischievous powers more extensive than those of Paine, but none more malignant."

In Berlin, after concluding the treaty with which he was charged, Adams continued to watch closely the policies of France, and sought for a means of bringing about an agreement between neutral nations as to the treatment of their commerce; but he quickly saw the true situation, and was far too wise to commit himself by an attempt to do the impossible. Throughout, the letters are of high value, not only as records of fact and personal opinion, but because of the shrewd political reasoning that pervades them.

REVELATION AND THE IDEAL. By GEORGE A. GORDON, MINISTER OF THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH, BOSTON. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913.

This book of Dr. Gordon's is by no means a philosophical treatise, but

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rather a collection of sermons, each with its appropriate text, upon closely related topics. The discourses are wholly undoctrinal in tone, and in style they represent the best type of pulpit eloquence. Dr. Gordon's avowed aim is "to introduce clearness and sureness in the current use among Christian people of the ideal." As to the meaning of the word, and the warrant of the ideal conception, he substantially agrees with Professor Royce, finding that those thoughts of heroism and beauty which lead men on to their highest and noblest achievements arise out of human relationships and out of the divine spirit common to all. In his handling of the subject, Dr. Gordon lays quite as much emphasis upon the value of the pictured ideal as that conception will bear: "God," he writes, "gets His deep-laid and mighty moral plan into the mind through the glowing forms of the imagination," and thus all great poets, artists, and other idealists are in a real sense prophets, helping on the gradual revelation of the ideal. As to whether or not the part of the imagination in the process of moral betterment is fundamental, there may be difference of opinion: Kant, with his categorical imperative, one supposes, would have refused to have anything to do with imaginative revelation; and the Dualist with his "inner check" seems to stand in no immediate need of it. But as to the advantage of properly realizing the value of ideals and of having them clothed upon with fitting imagery, there can be no doubt, and these ends Dr. Gordon quite effectively helps us to attain—despite an excusable tendency to multiply metaphors and to dwell upon appropriate figures of speech as pearls of great price. Quite illustrative of the general point of view of the book is this passage from the chapter upon "The Ideal of the Patriot": "The Ideal America is the real America. If you wish to know the everlasting America, look into the minds of its great patriots, into the thoughts of its deepest prophets"—a statement of Emersonian authority and doubtfulness: for, after all, just what do we mean by "the real" when we talk in this way?

To the reader who reads analytically, much of Dr. Gordon's book will be somewhat disappointing. We are told, once again, that there is no real conflict between science and religion. Scientists are received into the fold as prophets. If we are accustomed to the mental analysis of abstract terms, the chapter on "What is Revelation?" will not prove particularly enlightening; and discourse on such points as the fact that physical magnitude and moral worth are incommensurable seems a rhetorical superfluity. So that, on the whole, one suspects that the book will prove a little disappointing, especially since the signs of the time point to the desire of most men for a practical and workable philosophy. Eloquent exhortation, however—the exaltation of those things which we feel in our hearts ought to be exalted—is not to be despised, in church or out of it. Dr. Gordon's central thesis will bear stressing in a variety of ways; for it is an assertion of the validity of what we perforce believe best and highest. "We are everywhere," he writes, in language that could hardly be bettered—"we are everywhere in contact with reality other than our own reality; we pass to that reality through our thoughts, and in so doing we transcend our thoughts. We seek education—that is, we seek escape from our own crude mind into the mature mind of our race; we complete our poor individual existence in the life of home, trade, society, our nation, mankind; and in the same way we seek to perfect our being in God." Becoming from chapter to chapter

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rather more distinctively theological, Dr. Gordon's exposition aims consistently to generalize and to give wider significance to Biblical events and terms, to give a broad and inspiring view, correlating personal experience with the august things of religion.

MORAL TRAINING IN THE SCHOOL AND HOME: A MANUAL FOR TEACHERS AND PARENTS. By E. HERSHEY SNEATH, Ph.D., LL.D., AND GEORGE HODGES, D.D., D.C.L. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

Examination of this well-meant and more or less useful little manual confirms an impression that the science of pedagogy, apart from the labors of Mme. Montessori and a few others, is still in the stage of dubious groping. The authors make a reasonable plea for moral training in the schools, affirming that the demand for such training already exists and that its non-fulfilment is due to mere inertia. We are behind France and Japan in this matter, they remark. The teaching of ethics in the grades, it is maintained with obvious justice, should not be attempted. But the virtues and vices of each stage of the child's development need to be determined, and here the so-called "recapitulatory theory" of individual evolution is of service—giving a certain amount of guidance, which may be supplemented by the results of a *questionnaire*. Psychology, however, is slow in providing answers to practical questions, and it is apparent that for the present, as in tentative efforts in the past, the chief reliance must be placed on common sense. The method of moral instruction most insisted upon by the authors of the treatise under notice is the indirect method of story-telling—the stories to be not of the old-fashioned, ultra-moral, Sunday-school type, but entertaining in themselves, and the application to be left to the child's intelligence. The power of suggestion is something of a modern fad, and it is perhaps permissible to inquire whether its effect is not overrated. To furnish the mind with sound thoughts and beautiful images is, of course, a recognized office of literature, and the ultimate influence of literature upon character may be very great. But on the other hand, is there not a tendency with children as with persons of mature years to keep fiction in a separate compartment of the mind? We love King Arthur because he is romantic, not because we expect to be, or want to be, like him. The puny child will revel in tales of martial exploits without necessarily trying to become athletic; the idle but imaginative child will thrill to a tale of prompt efficiency, but one seems to see him coming late to school all the same. Perhaps the pupil who best takes in the story illustrating the value of accuracy will profit least by the moral. In general, it would seem not nearly so hard to make children see the relation of accuracy to a railroad accident as to make them feel that the virtue has any vital relation to *them*. Yet if the method be not trusted too far, and if literary instinct be not perverted for the sake of immediate moral application, it may be hoped that much good will result from the story-telling programme.

Moral Training in the School and Home illustrates the tendency of pedagogy in its present rather uncertain frame of mind to quote late authorities for rather obvious facts and to rely upon all sorts of authorities (including Aristotle) for its general ideas. One wishes that that obvious afterthought of Coleridge's in the last stanzas of "The Ancient

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Mariner" would not be cited as a moral lesson inculcating kindness to dumb animals.

Of considerable value to teachers and parents will be the carefully selected lists which the book contains of stories designed to illustrate the several kinds of virtues. These tales are of excellent quality and not above average juvenile tastes.

LAST POEMS. By JULIA C. R. DORR. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

Julia Caroline Ripley Dorr was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in February, 1825, and died at Rutland, Vermont, in January of the present year. She was one of those American women who preserve a serene faith and a fine responsiveness to whatever goodness and beauty there may be in the world into the twilight of a serene old age. The interest of her fiction and other prose writings has faded somewhat in the passage of time: in her poetry there is a spirit of more permanence.

The influence of the really great poets is all about us: it is in our daily speech, in the books we read, in the thoughts we think. And their great works are landmarks none may ignore. We are impressed by "Paradise Lost" as we are by the pyramids—and our feeling in each case may be sincere, though we have neither poetical nor archæological tastes. But the number of those who care for good verse as most people care for comely architecture, pleasant pictures, or tuneful music is small. By these, however, the poems of Julia C. R. Dorr, will not be found wanting in quiet charm. These poems are not powerfully imaginative, nor do they reveal much verbal inspiration—the memorable phrase is lacking, and something of a tendency toward conventional imagery is shown—but the verses have always an adequate richness of expression, and they are genuinely lyrical. Verses like that which begins "O, strong young runner in the race of life" possess language-music and somewhat the ring of passionate utterance.

MERCHANTS FROM CATHAY. By WILLIAM ROSE BENET. New York: The Century Company, 1913.

There is a feeling, known to some of us, that poetry, among artistic media, should be reserved for those conceptions which no other medium can well be used to express—for the great and elemental utterances or for the beauty that borders on the sublime. The validity of such a feeling, however, may be questioned; and certainly there seems to be no adequate reason why people of good taste, in general appreciative of the fine arts, should fail to find a sufficient reward of enjoyment in the perusal of such verse as Mr. Benét has given us in "Merchants from Cathay." The dexterous meter, making a fine mosaic of rhythm, image, and tripping phrase, and the vigorous, wholesome temper of it all, call for something more than perfunctory commendation. The author shows a quaint originality of fancy and a definiteness of feeling and point of view that win respect and give pleasure. Occasionally tapestry-like in mere decorativeness of effect, and in sentiment often short of the thrilling, the verses are in no case shamefully weak and now and then yield the surprise of discovered beauty.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE NEW TARIFF

SIR,—In connection with your article in the New York *Times*, last Sunday, entitled "Six Months of Wilson," I take the liberty of pointing out one statement in relation to the tariff which is often misunderstood by the reader.

You state that "there can be no doubt of revision downward when the average rate of duty is reduced from 40.12 per cent. to approximately 26 per cent." Of course, the amount of revision downward is not measured or gaged by these figures at all, because they take no account of those articles put on the Free List. Neither are these percentages the average duty paid on imports. They are merely the averages—not by quantity, but by unit article—of the *dutiable* articles imported. It would be entirely possible, as you know, to really reduce the amount of protection while actually raising the average per cent. of duty as computed above. In the Payne-Aldrich bill, quite a number of articles were reduced to the free list, and, with the exception of one schedule, reductions were made on practically all large imports, while increases were made in certain small imports.

In a similar way, we think the statement misleading when you say "Neither is there left much room for cry of Free Trade under a tariff of 26 per cent." It is self-evident that this percentage is very little index of the question of actual protection for two reasons. One is, that the articles of large consumption might all be on the Free List. To take an extreme case: Suppose only three articles were taxable out of the whole eight thousand articles and over that are enumerated in the tariff bill. If those three articles happened to draw a 50 per cent. duty and the average rate of duty were then stated to be 50 per cent., apparently we would have high protection. The imports of those three articles might be negligible and all the balance of the articles come in free. In short, a condition of Free Trade might exist. We submit, therefore, that that form of statement is apt to be misleading. While you know the difference, the majority of your readers do not, and the result is, they draw many wrong conclusions.

A similar mistake is often made by financial writers in speaking of the balance of trade between this country and foreign countries. They will give the excess of exports in value over imports as shown by the Government Statistics and consider the difference between the two as our favorable credit balance against foreign countries. While the informed financial writer only uses that statement in a comparative sense, the public, which does not know its real meaning, concludes that we really have credits against the foreign countries when in reality this

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only measures one part of the transaction and we may be even creating larger debtor balances. The financial writer does not consider it necessary to explain that the value of the imports is at the point of origin with no transport added, nor any of the selling expense, insurance, etc., which all has to be added to the foreign credit balance, nor does it take account of a number of other items, such as interests on past debts, dividends on stocks owned abroad, and similar equities which are obvious on reflection.

DETROIT, MICH. W. A. LIVINGSTONE.

The point with respect to exact percentages is well taken, of course, but does not conflict with the main fact that the new measure does provide "a substantial revision downward" without approaching a free-trade basis.—EDITOR.

MR. MORLEY AND GOLDWIN SMITH

SIR,—The article by the Secretary of Goldwin Smith, on the reason why his chief left England, is very interesting. It quickens my memory concerning a conversation I once had with John Morley on the same subject. I ventured to remark to Lord Morley that we in America had always wondered why Goldwin Smith had left England. "We here, also, have always wondered," he replied. This article is the first large and lucid interpretation I have ever seen of the cause.

CHARLES F. THWING.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY.

MR. ASQUITH

SIR,—In the belief that you and I are old friends though personally strangers, I am writing to tell you how much I enjoyed your article on the Master Statesman. Plutarch might well have been proud of such a portraiture.

There are many heroes and others of later centuries who await the man who will do for them what the old Greek did for those of earlier ages.

It would be a fine thing to be known as the Plutarch of the 20th Century. Here is a hint for you.

PASADENA, CALIFORNIA. J. H. MCBRIDE.

COMMENDATION

SIR,—I am disgusted with the entire lack of morality, logic, and virility displayed in the editorials of our daily papers. Though I have been retired from active business several years, yet I am so busy that I have little time to investigate the literary fields and so do not know what is being written outside of those lines that I especially follow. But being in Nyack this summer, I went into the Public Library to see an article perhaps published by you that was referred to in the New York *Times*. Anyway, I was very much pleased by what I found in your periodical. The feeling was renewed by what appeared in the New York *Times* of to-day. The *Financial Chronicle* and the *Wall Street Journal* do appear to me to be edited with a good deal of ability, but they are publications that reach only a limited class. Why are the people content to put in power and listen to Wilson in place of Cleve-

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land, or Wilson's spokesman Bryan, or Dr. Hillis in place of Beecher? Or how can the people who had the advice of Benjamin Franklin pay any attention to the "rubbish" of the Progressives? However, I only write to commend your writing and your exhibitions of those qualities that seem to be so lacking in the papers and the people of to-day.

J. P. WINTRINGHAM.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

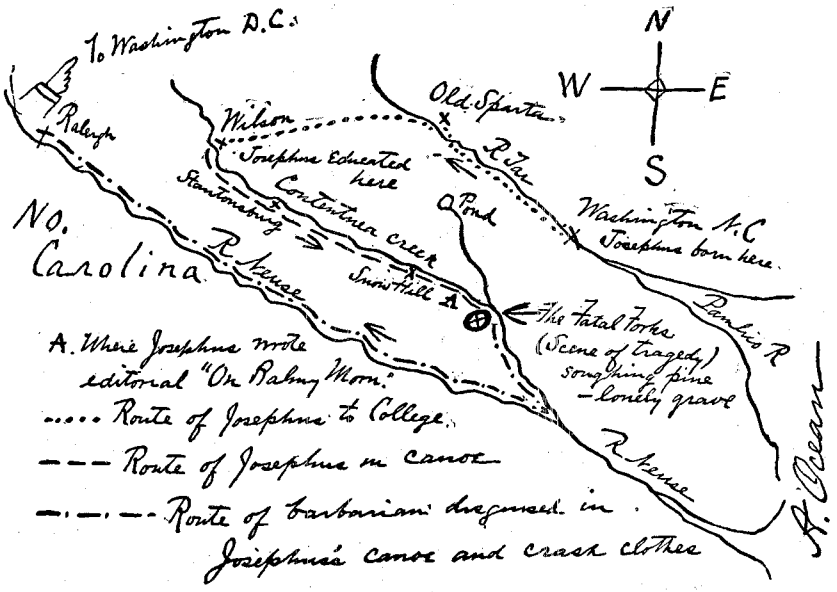
CONTENTNEA CREEK

SIR,—Your simply written biography of Josephus Daniels from before the cradle to after the grave does indeed mark a tragedy, but tell me: Is there a stream called Contentnea Creek? It sounds like a term from "Wessex Tales" and seems too good to be true. The River Neuse I have heard of, but—Contentnea Creek! Does it really and truly exist, and, if so, where?

SAMUEL BRAKER.

PORTLAND, MAINE.

If our correspondent had examined his atlas, he would have had no occasion to encroach upon our time and patience. Nevertheless, since, like Mr. Wanamaker, we aim to please, we present herewith a map not only showing where the famous Contentnea ebbs and flows, but also indicating the routes of those two who were most particularly concerned in the tragic episode referred to, namely, to wit:



A rumor has recently permeated naval circles to the effect that the forthcoming manœuvers are to take place at or near the Fatal Forks "by order," but we utterly discredit the report; the suggestion is too hideous for contemplation.—EDITOR.

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Tulsa, Oklahoma

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